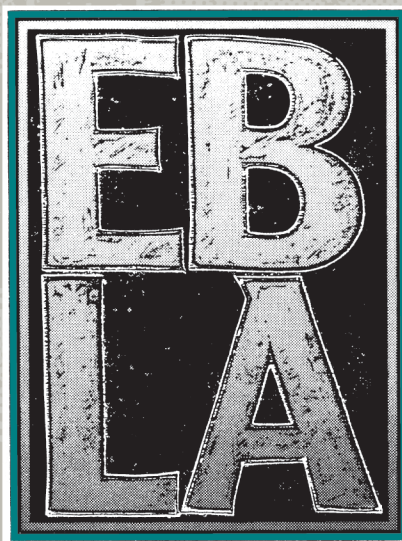


Volume 4



Eblaitica:
Essays on the Ebla Archives
and Eblaite Language

Edited by

Cyrus H. Gordon • Gary A. Rendsburg

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To Marianne Willems-Hendrix

with deepest gratitude for your constant support

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Preface

It is my pleasure to present to the academic community this fourth and final volume in the series *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*. This series was the brainchild of my late, lamented teacher Cyrus H. Gordon; and I was privileged to work with him on this project over the course of about fifteen years. The first three volumes of *Eblaitica* appeared in relatively quick succession in the years 1987, 1990, and 1992. This fourth volume has been severely delayed—the reasons behind the delay need not concern us—so that it now appears a full decade after the third volume in the series. To all who have anticipated this book's appearance, my sincere apologies for the long wait. I extend the same apologies to the authors of the individual articles contained herein, for they have been most patient and uncomplaining.

Alas Professor Gordon (died March 30, 2001) did not live to see the book finally published, but he read all of the articles and had a major input into the volume as a whole.

Thanks are extended to Jim Eisenbraun and Beverly Fields of Eisenbrauns for their expert work in the production of this volume. As everyone in the field of cuneiform studies knows well, the work required for producing a book of this nature is most complicated. Their professionalism is most appreciated.

My former student Gregg Serene performed the yeoman task of producing the indexes that appear at the end of this book. In addition, his keen eye during the proofreading process saved many an error from appearing.

Several loyal alumni of Cornell University graciously provided funds to cover some of the costs involved in the production of this book. I am happy to thank publicly Jack and Elaine Richard, Max and Lois Kraus, and Bob and Judy Huret in this regard.

This book is dedicated to Mrs. Marianne Willems-Hendrix, a truly remarkable woman. I am privileged to hold the Paul and Berthe Hendrix Memorial Professorship in Jewish Studies at Cornell University, which Marianne and her late husband, Kees Willems, established in memory of Marianne's parents, who perished at Auschwitz. Marianne has broad interests in the fields of Jewish Studies and Near Eastern Studies, as witnessed in part by the fact that she participated in a study tour of Syria conducted by my colleague David Owen, a tour that included, of course, a stop at Tell Mardikh, ancient Ebla. Thank you, Marianne, for your constant support.

GARY A. RENDSBURG

Abbreviations

General

adv.	adverb
Akk.	Akkadian
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Bab.	Babylonian
CNI	Carsten Niebuhr Institute (Copenhagen)
DN	divine name
EA	El-Amarna (tablet)
Ebl.	Eblaic / Eblaite
Eth.	Ethiopic
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
GN	geographical name
Heb.	Hebrew
Hitt.	Hittite
Hurr.	Hurrian
L.	Locus
masc.	masculine
MT	Masoretic Text
n.	noun
OA	Old Assyrian
OAkk.	Old Akkadian
obv.	obverse
pl.	plural
PN	personal name
RAI	Rencontre assyriologique internationale
rev.	reverse
S. Arab.	South Arabic
Sem.	Semitic
sg.	singular
Ugar.	Ugaritic
vb.	verb
VE	siglum for “Il Vocabolario de Ebla” published in MEE 4

Museum and Site Sigla

A.	Louvre Museum siglum
Erm.	siglum for tablets from Puzriš-Dagān in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
F.	siglum for some tablets from Tell Brak, published by C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tell Brak." <i>Iraq</i> 7: 22–61
ITT	inventaire des tablettes de Tello
M.	siglum for objects from Mari
MAH	siglum for tablets in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève
NCBT	tablets in the collections of Yale University
RS	field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Shamra
SH	siglum for tablets from Tell Shemshara
TM	Tell Mardiḥ inventory number

Reference Works

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAAS	<i>Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes</i>
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABL	R. F. Harper. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1892–1914.
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfO Beiheft	Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft
AHw	W. von Soden. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–81
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ANET	J. B. Pritchard (ed.). <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . 3d ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARES	Archivi Reali di Ebla—Studi
	1. A. Archi (ed.). <i>Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving: Papers of a Symposium Held in Rome, July 15–17, 1985</i> . Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1988
	2. A. Archi. <i>I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla</i> . Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1993
	3. J. Pagan. <i>A Morphological and Lexical Study of Personal Names in the Ebla Texts</i> . Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1998
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla—Testi
	1. A. Archi. <i>Testi Amministrativi: Assegnazioni di Tessuti (Archivio L. 2769)</i> . 1985
	2. D. O. Edzard. <i>Verwaltungstexte verschiedenen Inhalts aus dem Archiv L. 2769</i> . 1981

3. A. Archi and M. G. Biga. *Testi Amministrativi di Vario Contenuto* (Archivio L. 2769: TM.75.G.3000–4101). 1982
4. M. G. Biga and L. Milano. *Testi Amministrativi: Assegnazioni di Tessuti* (Archivio L. 2769). 1984
5. D. O. Edzard. *Hymnen, Beschwörungen und Verwandtes aus dem Archiv L. 2769*. 1984
6. A. Archi and P. Fronzaroli. *I Testi Lessicali Bilingui Sumerico-Eblaiti, Parte I: Testo; Parte II: Tavole*. Forthcoming
7. A. Archi. *Testi Amministrativi: Registrazioni di Metalli e Tessuti* (Archivio L. 2769). 1988
8. E. Sollberger. *Administrative Texts Chiefly Concerning Textiles* (L. 2752). 1986
9. L. Milano. *Testi Amministrativi: Assegnazioni di Prodotti Alimentari* (Archivio L. 2712—Parte I). 1990
11. P. Fronzaroli. *Testi rituali della regalità* (Archivio L. 2769). 1993

ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari (texts in transliteration and translation)
ARRIM	<i>Annual Report of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project</i>
ARU	J. Kohler and A. Ungnad. <i>Assyrische Rechtsurkunden in umschrift und übersetzung nebst einem index der personen-namen und rechtserläuterungen</i> . Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1913
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i> (Japan)
AT	D. J. Wiseman. <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i> . London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula orientalis</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BagM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
<i>Belleten</i>	<i>Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten</i>
BIN	<i>Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917–
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BoSt	Boghazköi-Studien
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	A. L. Oppenheim, et al. (eds.). <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CAT	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places</i> . Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 12. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996
CCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum
CIS	Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>

CT	Cuneiform Texts from the British Museum
CTH	E. Laroche. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . 2d ed. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971
CTU	see CAT
DamM	<i>Damaszener Mitteilungen</i>
DISO	C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer (eds.). <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1965
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling. <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> . 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1995
GAG	W. von Soden. <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i>
GKC	E. Kautzsch (ed.). <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> . Trans. A. E. Cowley. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IOS	<i>Israel Oriental Studies</i>
JA	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
JANES(CU)	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society (of Columbia University)</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
KAH	O. Schroeder. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911–22
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig. <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962–64.
KAV	O. Schroeder. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920
KB	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner. <i>Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros</i> . Leiden: Brill, 1953
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. Leipzig, 1916–
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. <i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Alter Orient und Altes Testament 24. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MAM	Mission Archéologique de Mari
MARI	<i>Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires</i>
MCS	Manchester Cuneiform Studies
MDOG	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MEE	Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla
MisEb	Miscellanea Eblaitica
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
MSL	B. Landsberger et al. (eds.). <i>Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon</i> . Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1937–
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
MVN	Materiali per il vocabolario neo-sumerico
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NJPSV	New Jewish Publication Society Version of the Bible (1985)

NPN	I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. MacRae. <i>Nuzi Personal Names</i> . Oriental Institute Publications 57. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OBTR	R. J. Lau. <i>Old Babylonian Temple Records</i> . New York: Columbia University Press, 1906
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
PRU	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit</i>
QdS	Quaderni di Semitistica
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
RES	Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
RIH	J. de Rougé. <i>Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte: Études égyptologiques</i> , 9–11. 3 vols. Paris, 1877–78
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyria
RivB	<i>Rivista biblica italiana</i>
RLA	E. Ebeling et al. (eds.). <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1932–
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SEb	<i>Studi Eblaiti</i>
SEL	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici</i>
ŠL	A. Deimel. <i>Šumerisches Lexikon</i> . Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1928–50.
SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
SMS	Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
StBoT	Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten
StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes: Musée de Louvre—Département des Antiquités Orientales
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
TMH	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UET	Ur Excavations, Texts
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UT	C. H. Gordon. <i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> . Analecta Orientalia 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung Thontafeln

<i>VO</i>	<i>Vicino Oriente</i>
<i>WGE</i>	H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds.). <i>Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla: Akten der Internationalen Tagung Heidelberg, 4.–7. November 1986</i> . Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1988
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>YOS</i>	Yale Oriental Series
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Prepositions at Ebla

ALFONSO ARCHI

1: *al*₆; 2: *ʔa*₅-*na*; 3: *in*; 4: *mi-in*; 5: *si-in*; {6: *šè*; } 7: *a-dè*; 8: *mi-nu*; 9: *áš-da*;
10: *áš-ti*; 11: *áš-tu*; 12: *gaba*; 13: *gi-ti-ma-a*; 14: *ba-lu/i*; 15: *si-gi*; 16: *ba-na*

Two studies were devoted to the prepositions in Eblaite soon after the publication of the first texts.¹ The number of documents now accessible allows us to discuss with greater precision some additional points concerning their use.

1. *al*₆, *a* (/ʿa(l)/) ‘on, above, upon, to, debited to (the account of), on account of’²

1.1. Locative ‘on, upon, to’

ARET 11 1 (61): en ù *ma-lik-tum* è tuš *al*₆ 2 GIŠ-uštil *a-bù-sù* ‘the king and the queen go out; they sit on the two thrones of their fathers’ (similarly in 1 [21], [84]; 2 [21], [64], [88]). ARET 11 1 (81) and 2 (85): *al*₆ gùb en *ma-lik-[tum]* tuš / *al*₆-tuš ‘the queen sits to the king’s left’. ARET 11 1 (69), 2 (72): *al*₆ ^dUtu è ‘to the rising Sun’. TM.75.G.2429 obv. XVIII 9–14: (metal) nu₁₁-za 1 sag PN lú *al*₆ ká en ‘metal (to) plate the head of PN (placed) on the king’s gate’. TM.75.G.10144 rev. VI 19–VII 2:

1. F. A. Pennacchietti, “Indicazioni preliminari sul sistema preposizionale dell’eblaite,” in *La lingua di Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1981) 291–319; H. Limet, “Le système prepositionnel dans les documents d’Ebla,” in *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 13; Florence, 1984) 59–70. The first lists of Eblaite prepositions were published by I. J. Gelb, “Thoughts about Ibla,” *SMS* 1/1 (1977) 1–30 (on pp. 23, 25); and G. Pettinato, “Gli archivi reali di Tell Mardikh-Ebla,” *RivB* 25 (1977) 225–43 (on pp. 236–37). See also the indexes of the volumes in the ARET series. The word “passim” herein refers to these indexes.

During the delay in publication of the present essay, the following studies have appeared: P. Fronzaroli, “Notes sur la syntaxe éblaite,” *Amurru* 1 (1996) 125–34 (see pp. 127–30, which I was still able to use); M. Dattilo, “Le proposizioni *in*, *mi-in*, *mi-nu* nel Rituale di intronizzazione ad Ebla,” *AuOr* 14 (1996) 169–79; M. V. Tonietti, “Il sistema preposizionale nei tre testi del rituale di ARET XI: Analogie e divergenze,” *MisEb* 4 73–109; L. Viganò, “The Preposition *al*₆,” in L. Viganò, *On Ebla* (Sabadell, 1996) 93–112.

Special abbreviations: Beydar = Pre-Sargonic texts from Tell Beydar; Mari = Pre-Sargonic Texts from Mari; *MisEb* 2 = *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 2 (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 13; Florence, 1989); *MisEb* 3 = *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 3 (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 17; Florence, 1990); *MisEb* 4 = *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4 (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 19; Florence, 1997); QdS 18 = *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 18; Florence, 1992).

2. Beydar: *al*, see F. Ismail et al., *Subartu* 2 (1996) 175. Oakk. *al*, Akk. *eli*; Ugar., Heb., Aram. *ʿl(ē)*; Arab. *ʿlā*. On the writing *a*, see P. Fronzaroli, *VO* 7 (1988) 15.

1 GIŠ-asar (silver) nu₁₁-za 4 sag lu_x al₆-sù ‘a dish; silver (to) plate the four buffalo heads on it’.

1.1.1. *al₆-a* /^cal-ay ?/³ ‘on’

ARET 11 1 (3): *wa-ma-sa* ì-giš *al₆-a* sag *ma-lik-tum* gar ‘and then he (the king) puts oil on the queen’s head’ (cf. 1.1.4. *a-li-iš*).

1.1.2. *a-lu* (cf. Akk. *elu*), *a-lu-nu* /^cal(u)-²n-u(m) ?/ ‘on’

TM.75.G.10079 rev. II 14–18: (objects) níg-ba HÚB.KI tuš :ba *a-lu* GIŠ ‘objects: gift (for) the jumper who stayed on the pole’. See further: TM.75.G.1775 (MEE 7 48) rev. 5 6–8: (object) *Wa-da-’à* ba-TÚŠ *al₆* GIŠ; TM.75.G.2365 rev. XVII 1–6: (silver) níg-ba HÚB.KI tuš :ba *a-lu-nu* GIŠ. TM.75.G.2464 obv. II 3–9: (silver) níg-ba HÚB.KI in ud *a-(lu-)nu* GIŠ tuš :ba.

There are parallel passages with *al₆*: ARET 3 336 VIII: HÚB.KI] tuš :ba *al₆* giš. ARET 3 371 I: H]ÚB SA.ZA_x^{ki} ba-tuš¹(ZA) *al₆* GIŠ. ARET 4 6 (66): *Wa-da-’à* ba-tuš *al₆* GIŠ⁴ (cf. ARET 4 9 [25]: *Wa-da-’à* lú *Du-ur-NI* SA.ZA_x^{ki} tuš :ba *mi-nu* GIŠ).

1.1.3. *a-li-iš* /^cal-iš/ ‘above’

TM.75.G.2520 obv. 4–8: níg-a-dé ì-giš *a-li-iš* sag PNF ‘(for) the pouring of oil above the head of PNF’ (usually: níg-[a]-dé ì-giš *al₆* / *si-in* sag).⁵ TM.75.G.1464 obv. II 20–23: 1 *gú-li-lum a-li-iš* GIŠ-gu-kak-gíd DN. TM.75.G.2465 obv. VIII 25–29: *ni-zi-mu* 4 kù-sal *a-li-iš* kù-sal-kù-sal *zi-ba-da*.

1.2. ‘Debited to (the Account of), on Account of, Beside’

Goods *al₆* PN—ARET 2 16 (6): (barley) *al₆* PN ‘barley on account of PN’. ARET 7 136: (copper) *al₆* PN ugula simug ‘copper debited to the account of PN, the overseer of the smiths’. ARET 7 15 (1)–(2): (objects) *al₆* PN₁ lú-kar *Ma-rí*^{ki} PN₂ GN ugula é-duru₅^{ki} ‘objects debited to the account of PN₁, the merchant of Mari, (for) PN₂ of GN, the overseer of the work-gang’. ARET 7 24 (3): (garments) mu-DU (garments) *al₆* ugula engar ‘garments: delivery; garments debited to the account of the overseer of the farmers’. MEE 2 1 obv. V 10–VI 1: (silver) mu-DU PN (silver) *al₆-sù* ‘silver: delivery of PN; silver at his expense’. ARET 7 63 (1)–(8): (gold) PN₁ ì-na-sum (gold) *al₆* PN₁ ‘gold: PN₁ has given; gold debited to PN₁’. ARET 7 128 (1): (garments) GN ì-na-sum (garments) *al₆-sù*: ‘garments: GN has given; garments at their expense’. ARET 1 27: (garments) gi₄ *si-in* PN (garments) *al₆-sù* ‘garments returned to PN; garments on his account’. TM.75.G.10168 obv. VII 18–23: 1 udu *al₆* dumu-mí en PN nídba ‘PN has offered one sheep for the well-being of a daughter of the

3. See Fronzaroli, ARET 11 23.

4. Most of the people called HÚB.(KI) ‘jumper, acrobat’ came from Nagar (in the Ḥabur region), from where Ebla imported onagers, BAR.AN. It has been deduced, therefore, that these people were specialists in equestrian arts; A. Archi, *Subartu* 4/2 (1998) 10–11. Some other acrobats are said to be ‘of the palace’ SA.ZA_x^{ki}, and *Wa-da-’à*, probably an acrobat who used a pole, GIŠ, belonged to this second group. On the HÚB.(KI)-HÚB.(KI) at Ebla, see A. Catagnoli, *MARI* 8 (1997) 563–96; for the passages with *al₆* GIŠ, see p. 581.

5. Already quoted by A. Archi, “Cult of the Ancestor and Tutelary God at Ebla,” in *Fucus: A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman* (ed. Y. L. Arbeitman; Amsterdam, 1988) 111. For *a-li-iš*, Akk. *eliš*, cf. the Lexical Lists: an-šè = *a-i-núm* /¹alínun/, Akk. *elēnu* ‘above’; see J. Krecher, “Sumerische und nichtsumerische Schicht,” in *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1984) 157.

king'. TM.75.G.1705 obv. VII 10–16: (silver) *lú nu-GIŠ-kiri₆ DU.DU al₆ dumu-nita* PN GN 'silver (as provision for) the gardener (who) went on behalf of PN of GN'.

Metal *al₆* PN in UNKEN-ag object—ARET 7 25, 27, 28, 29: (gold) *al₆* PN in "KIN"-ag object 'gold debited to the account of PN in order to make an object'.

On account of animals—TM.75.G.2635 obv. V 7–12, VII 8–12: 3 udu *Ša-ma-gan* PN *nídba al₆ 1 sur_x-BAR.AN-sù . . . 2 udu Ša-ma-gan dumu-nita-dumu-nita en nídba al₆ sur_x-BAR.AN-sur_x-BAR.AN* 'three sheep PN has offered (to) DN for the well-being of his pair of onagers . . . two sheep the king's sons have offered (to) DN for the well-being of (their) pairs of onagers'.

On account of a situation, concerning—ARET 8 539 (3): (objects) *nídba en DN al₆ tu-ra dumu-mí-sù* GN 'objects (as) offerings of the king (to) DN on account of (for) the illness of his daughter (who lives in) GN'. TM.75.G.1464 rev. X 1–6: (silver) *níg-ba en DN al₆ tu-ra ama-gal-sù* '(silver:) gift of the king to DN for the illness of his mother' (*al₆* is often connected with *tu-ra*). TM.75.G.10088 rev. XVII 16–21: (object) *níg-ba DN lú sikil al₆ ama-gal en* 'object: gift (for) DN for the purification of the king's mother'. ARET 2 54 (3): (objects) *al₆ 3 nídba DN* 'objects on account of the three offerings (for) DN'. MEE 2 39 obv. X 12–XI 1: (garments) PN GN *šè DU.DU di-ku₅ al₆ Zu-ḥa-lum^{ki} Ar-mi^{ki} wa Ib-la^{ki}* 'garments (to) PN of GN which (is) for his going to judge the cities of Zuḥalum, Armi, and Ebla'. TM.75.G.2428 obv. XIII 3–13: (silver) *níg-kaskal PN₁ PN₂ DU.DU si-in Ar-mi^{ki} di-ku₅ al₆ uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} Ib-la^{ki}* 'silver (as) provision (for) PN₁ PN₂ (who) went to Armi in order to judge the cities of Ebla'. ARET 8 534 (52): PN] GN *šè DU.DU al₆ di-ku₅ 'À-du^{ki}* 'PN] of GN, which (is) for (his) going to judge the city of Haddu'.

On account of goods, beyond—ARET 1 40, 41: (garments) *diri al₆ mu-DU-sù* 'garments: exceeding (amount) on his deliveries'. ARET 8 527 (54): (a garment) *al₆ túg-túg é ti-túg* PN 'a garment on account of the garments of the t.-store (for) PN'. ARET 8 523 (5): *al₆ 5 aktum-TÚG šes-šes-sù* '(garments for the king of GN, his father, his brothers, and his sons;) besides (it), 5 garments (for) his brothers'. ARET 1 15 (58): (wool) *al₆ na₄-maḥ* PN 'wool (to) PN for an excellent stone'.

1.3. Temporal 'at, on'

ARET 11 1 (69), 2 (72): *wa al₆ 3-ma* 'at the third time'. ARET 11 3 (9): *al₆ 3 ud* 'at the third day'. TM.75.G.2403 rev. II 13–16: 27 udu *kú guruš-guruš al₆ 4 ud* '27 sheep to eat (for) the workers on four days'. ARET 11 1 (32): *al₆ da-ma-ti* 'at the lamentations'. ARET 11 2 (5), 3 (2): (garments) *mu₄^{mu} ma-lik-tum al₆ kaskal nu-túg-ZI :ZI* '(garments:) dress (for) the queen, not to be worn during the trip'.

2. 'a₅(NI)-na 'to'⁶

Akkadian *ana*. The Eblaite writing is attested also in Pre-Sargonic Mari, in a votive inscription, MAM 3 317 no. 10 (Tagge), 2 1: 'a₅-na *be-li-sù*, and in an

6. The value 'a₅ for NI was identified by D. O. Edzard, *SEb* 4 (1981) 47; ARET 2 137, s.v. NI-ti. For the reading 'a₅-na, see P. Fronzaroli, "Morfologia eblaitica," *SEb* 5 (1982) 101 n. 18; M. Krebern timer, *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla* (Hildesheim, 1984) 136 and 316–17, nn. 89 and 90 (also against G. Pettinato's interpretation: *li-na*, based on Ugaritic *ln*, see *RivB* 25 [1977] 239; MEE 2 131 ad v. II 3); L. Milano, *SEb* 7 (1984) 221.

economic document.⁷ Other votive inscriptions present the writing *a-na*: MAM 3 315 no. 7, line 1; and RA 31 (1934) 140 (Lamgimari), line 6.

2.1. Allocutive

²*a₅-na* appears in the allocutive formulas of the letters sent from one city-state to another. It belonged to the epistolary style in use in the Mesopotamian area, also adopted by the scribes of Ebla. In the letters sent to people dependent on the palace administration, *si-in* is used instead. TM.75.G.2367 obv. I 1–7: *en-ma En-na-Da-gan en Ma-rí^{ki} ²a₅-na en Ib-la^{ki}* ‘Thus (speaks) Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, to the king of Ebla’. TM.75.G.2342 (letter to Ḫamazi) obv. I 1–7: *en-ma I-bù-KA×GÁNA-tenû* agrig é en ²*a₅-na* sukkal-du₈ ‘Thus PN, the (chief) steward of the house of the king, to the minister’; obv. VI 2–rev. I 1 (final section): *ù en-ma Ti-ra-il* dub-sar gál-“tag₄” ²*a₅-na* sukkal-du₈ Zi-zi ì-na-sum ‘And thus PN, the scribe, has revealed (literally: opened) to the minister (so that) he will give (the message to) Z. (king of Ḫamazi)’. TM.75.G.2561 (letter of Suwama-wabar of Mari)⁸ obv. VI 6–10, rev. III 13–17: *en-ma en ²À-du^{ki} ²a₅-na Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘Thus the king of ²A. to M.’; rev. I 12–II 2, V 1–4: *en-ma Ma-rí^{ki} ²a₅-na (en) ²À-du^{ki}* ‘Thus M. to (the king of) ²A.’ (²*a₅-na* is used in the addresses; *si-in* in the narrative sections, obv. 5–9: *wa du₁₁-ga si-in Su-wa-ma-wa-bar Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘and they said to S. of M.’). TM.75.G.12137+ obv. I 1–7: *en-ma En-na-da-mu en Ma-nu-wa-at^{ki} ²a₅-na en [Ib-la^{ki}]* ‘Thus E., king of M., to the king [of E.]’. In the opening formula of a royal decree, TM.75.G.1766 obv. I 1–4:⁹ *en-ma en ²a₅-na In-gàr* ‘Thus (speaks) the king (of Ebla) to PN’. Also in the decree of a certain Iri-gunu in favor of his sons, TM.75.G.2605 obv. I 1–3: *en-ma I-rí-gú-nu ²a₅-na* dumu-nita-dumu-nita-sù.

2.2. Allative (see also *si-in*, 5.2.)

MEE 2 45 rev. I 5–II 5: *in DIŠ mu DU Tar₅-kab-du-lum ²a₅-na Kak-mi-um^{ki}* simug-simug na-rú ‘In the year of the going of PN to GN (when) the smiths (erected) the stele’. ARET 3 145(+)163(+)358(+)440 passim: (silver) nam-ku₅ PN šu-mu-“tag₄” ²*a₅-na* GN ‘silver (for) the oath of PN (which) has been brought to GN’. ARET 11 2 (99): *in ud DU.DU ²a₅-na SA.ZA_x^{ki}* ‘when they go the palace’ (the parallel text, ARET 11 3 [21], has: *in ud DU.DU si-in SA.ZA_x^{ki}*). TM.75.G.2420 rev. I 2–5: *²à-na-sa ²a₅-na en nu-du* ‘if you on the contrary do not go to the king . . .’.¹⁰

2.3. Uncertain

ARET 5 16 obv. II 2–7: GAR KUN ²*a₅-na* ù-sakar al₆ kú ‘. . . to the crescent . . .’.¹¹ MEE 2 18 rev. I 3–II 5: *a-dè tuš gār-ra ir₁₁ šu-du₈ GIŠ-DU ²a₅-na* DU gar.

7. See RA 67 (1973) 96, obv. III 7–IV 3: 1 ma-na kb. ²*a₅-na* é-é ù maškim-maškim šu-ba₄-ti. This tablet surely comes from Mari. Further, a late copy of a votive inscription from Mari of the *šakkanakkū* period published by E. Sollberger in *XV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (ed. J.-R. Kupper; Liège, 1967) 104–7, has in obv. 6: ²*a₅-na maḥ-ri* DN. Gelb (“Thoughts,” 11 and 23) transliterated *ì-na*, although he remarked that “*ì-na maḥ-ri* DN stands for Akkadian *ana maḥri* DN (not *ina maḥri* DN).”

8. See G. Pettinato, *Ebla: Nuovi orizzonti della storia* (Milan, 1986) 398–400; W. Heimpel, *JAOS* 109 (1989) 122.

9. P. Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 (1979) 4.

10. Edzard, *QdS* 18 200.

11. See Krebernik, *Beschwörungen*, 130 and 136.

3. *in* ‘in’

I. J. Gelb has stated, “the preposition *in* ‘in’ regularly occurs in Babylonia in the pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods. It is also found once in pre-Sargonic Mari, passim in the post-Ur III texts of Mari, and in the Old Assyrian dialect. . . . The preposition *ina* generally replaced *in* in the Ur III period, continuing in use to the end of the life of the Akkadian language. It is unknown anywhere else in Semitic.”¹²

3.1. Locative ‘in’

GN—ARET 7 19 (7): (object) PN . . . šu-ba₄-ti *in* GN ‘object: PN . . . has received in GN’. Passim.

Country—TM.75.G.2420 obv. X 11–16: en A-bar-sal₄^{ki} *in* kalam^{tim} lu é DU.DU ‘In (his) country the king of A. can go (and) come (?)’.¹³

Building—ARET 11 3 (14): 3 sa-ba-a-ti-su-ma *in* é ma-tim igi-igi ‘They provide (for) their 3 rites of 7 days in the mausoleum’.

šu—TM.75.G.2420 1–111 passim: GNs *in* šu en Ib-la^{ki} / A-bar-sal₄^{ki} ‘GNs (are) in the hand of (i.e., belong to) the king of. I./A.’¹⁴ ARET 11 2 (111) *in* 1 šu-sù ‘in one of his hand(s)’ (the parallel text, ARET 11 1 [67], which is older, has: *mi-in* 1 šu-sù).

3.2. Temporal ‘in, for’

x mu—ARET 7 1 (1): (silver and gold) níg-ba NI-zi *in* 1 mu lugal iti i-si ‘silver (and) gold: gift (for) N. (king of Mari) in the first year of his reign; month I’ (cf. ARET 7 16 [41]: *in* ud NI-zi lugal 3 mu ‘when N. [was] king: 3d year’). ARET 7 115 rev. II 1–6: *in* mu Ma-rí^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ áš-ti GN ‘in the year (in which) M. was defeated by GN’ (cf. ARET 9 35 passim: še-ba en 1 mu ‘allotments for the king [for] 1 year’).

x iti—ARET 9 11 (1), (6)–(8): . . . še . . . *in* 1 iti ‘. . . barley (for bread and beer) . . . for 1 month’. ARET 9 6 (8): *in* 8 iti ‘for 8 months’ (cf. ARET 10 5 [3]–[4], [6]: 1 iti ‘[for] 1 month’; ARET 9 42 [5]: 1 iti iti be-li ‘[for] 1 month; month V’). ARET 9 6 (9): 6 iti ‘(for) 6 months’. ARET 9, passim.

x ud—ARET 9 6 (7): . . . še . . . 50 é duru₅^{ki} *in* 1 ud ‘barley (for bread and beer for) 50 squads of workers a day’. ARET 11 2 (19): *in* 3 ud gibil iti ha-li-ì ‘in the 3d new day of month V’. ARET 9 5 (1): . . . še . . . kú guruš-guruš *in* 14 ud ‘barley (for bread and beer): food (for) the workers, for 14 days’ (cf. ARET 9 5 [8]–[10] 1 ud ‘a day’). ARET 9, passim.

ud—ARET 11 3 (28): *in* ud su-wa-ti ‘in that day’. ARET 7 54 (4): *in* ud húl-sù ‘in the day of his festival’. ARET 7 72 obv. II 1–5: . . . geštin *in* ud en kú é-sù ‘. . . wine when the king ate (in) his (i.e., of Tupuḫu-Hadda) house’. ARET 7 111 (2)–(4): níg-ba en . . . ma-lik-tum *in* ud níg-mu-sá PNF ‘gift of the king . . . of the queen . . . when PNF married’ (cf. ARET 7 117: [garments] níg-ba-níg-ba dam-dam *in* GN PN ì-na-sum *in* níg-mu-sá 1 bur-KAK PNF ‘garments: gifts for the women [who work] in GN, PN has given for the marriage [and] the b. [ceremony] of PNF’). ARET 2 13

12. Gelb, “Thoughts,” 23. Beydar, see *Subartu* 2 (1996) 179–80; Mari, see *MARI* 5 (1987) 68 no. 2 I 5; 71 no. 6 I 3; 73 no. 8 passim.

13. Edzard, QdS 18 198.

14. E. Sollberger “The So-Called Treaty between Ebla and ‘Ashur,’” *Seb* 3 (1980) 129–60.

(18): *in* ud DU.DU nam-ku₅ é DN ‘when (he) went to swear (in) the temple of DN’. Passim. Cf. OA *inūmi* (*in ūmī*) ‘in/at that day, at that time’; OAKk. *īnu*; OB *inūma*.¹⁵

ud-ud—TM.75.G.1953 obv. IV 4–V 3: *in* ud-ud *Ib-lul-il* lugal *Ma-rī*^{ki} ‘in the days when I. was king of M.’; rev. III 2–3: *in* ud-ud NI-zi ‘in the days when N. (was king)’.

gi₆-sá—ARET 1 8 (42): (garments) en GN *in* ge₆-sá šu-ba₄-ti ‘garments: the king of GN has received in the morning’.¹⁶ ARET 1 and 4, passim (under mi-sá, MI.DI).

al₆-tuš—ARET 11 2 (98), 3 (11), (13): *in* al₆-tuš é *ma-tim* ‘while they stay (in) the mausoleum’. ARET 9 27 (28) and 82 (10): *in* al₆-tuš en GN / PN é GN ‘when the king stayed (in) GN / PN stayed (in) the temple of DN’.

3.3. Terminative ‘for’

Administrative unit—ARET 9 101 (1): (cereals) PN šu-ba₄-ti *in* é ì-giš ‘cereals: PN has received for the oil house’.

nídba—ARET 2 5 (2): (silver) *in* nídba DN ‘silver for the offering (to) DN’. ARET 8 529 (3): (wool) *da-mi-mu in* nídba DN: ‘wool (for) the one who performed the lamentation for the offering (to) DN’. ARET 1 13 (34): (garments) PN₁ PN₂ šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki} *in* nídba DN ‘garments (for) PN₁ (and) PN₂, the š-priests bound (to) the palace, for the offering (to) DN’. ARET 1 12 (10): (objects) DN *in* nídba šeš-II-ib ‘objects (to) DN for the offering of the š’. ARET 9 33 (5): (victuals) kú SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* nídba ì-giš ‘victuals (to) be eaten (at) the palace for the oil offering’. ARET 9 99 (1) and (2): (flour) *si-in* Ḫa-lab_x^{ki} *in* nídba PN / en ‘flour to Ḫalab for the offering of PN / of the king (for the weather-god)’.

Cf. ARET 2 12 (7): (bronze for objects) *in ir-mi* ‘for (the festival of) month IX’. ARET 8 523 (1): (garments) PN₁–PN₃ šeš-II-ib *in ir-mi* ‘garments (to) PN₁–PN₃, the š-priests, for (the festival of) month IX’.

húl—ARET 8 532 (19): *in* húl-sù ‘for his festival’.

ì-ti—ARET 9 69 (1): (flour) è *in* ì-ti GN ‘flour: issue for his being present (in) GN’. Cf. ARET 9 33 (5); 95 (8)–(9).

šu-mu-nígin—ARET 8 521 (34): PN₁ PN₂ šu-mu-“tag₄” uzu *in* šu-mu-nígin ‘PN₁ PN₂ (who) have brought the meat for the cultic journey’. ARET 8 532 (14): PN šu-mu “tag₄” uzu *ma-lik-tum in* šu-mu-nígin ‘PN (who) has brought the meat (to) the queen for the cultic journey’.

še—ARET 2 33 (10): *ap in* še lú I-bí-zi-kir PN nu-šu-ba₄-ti ‘further, concerning the barley of I., PN has not (yet) received (it)’.

še-ba—ARET 9 8 (2): (bread and beer) ábba-ábba *in* še-ba guruš-guruš ‘bread (and) beer (for) the elders (delivered) together with the rations for the workers’; (26): (bread and beer) *in* še-ba guruš-guruš ábba-ábba ‘bread (and) beer (for) the elders (delivered) together with the rations for the workers’; (15): (bread and beer) ábba-ábba *in* še-ba ‘bread (and) beer (for) the elders (left) together with the rations (for the workers)’.

15. See GAG §116b; cf. Fronzaroli, ARET 11 154.

16. For this interpretation of ge₆-sá, see G. Conti, *MisEb* 3 196, with previous bibliography. In the administrative documents, however, this term must have a technical meaning.

šu-mu-“tag₄”—ARET 7 4 passim: (silver and gold) *in* šu-mu-“taka₄” 1 / 17 PN₁ ù PN₂ *Ma-ri*^{ki} ‘silver (and) gold, for the 1st/17th consignment of PN₁ and PN₂ (to) Mari’.

“tag₄”—ARET 1 40 rev. I 4–II 5: (garments) *diri è al₆ mu-DU-sù in* “tag₄” *túg-túg mu-ti* ‘garments: deficit of the issues in regard to his income concerning the garments left as delivery’.

UNKEN-ak—ARET 2 2, passim, 48 (2): (metal) *al₆ PN in* UNKEN-ak (objects) ‘metal in charge of PN in order to make objects’ (cf. ARET 2 35: [gold] *al₆ PN in* 1 GIŠ-šudul ‘gold in charge of PN in order [to make] a throne’; ARET 2 12 [5]: [silver] *in bu-di-bu-di* ‘silver in order [to make] earrings’).

3.4. *in-ma* ‘in’

An emphatic form of *in*.¹⁷ It expresses a locative referring to a GN previously mentioned.

GN—ARET 8 526 (10): (3+3+3 garments) PN₁ *Ù-nu-ub*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma Ù-nu-ub*^{ki} PN₂ *A-nu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in Kab-lu₅-ul*^{ki} PN₃ *Da-ša-ba*^{ki} ‘3+3+3 garments: PN₁ of U. has kept (them) in possession in U.; PN₂ of A. has kept (them) in possession in K.; PN₃ of D’. ARET 8 538 (26): (4+4+4 garments) PN₁ PN₂ *Maš-a*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma Maš-a*^{ki} PN₃ *EN-šu-lu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in A-mi-du*^{ki} PN₄ *’Ā-da-ni*^{ki} tuš-LŪ×TIL *in-ma ’Ā-da-ni*^{ki} ‘4+4+4 garments: PN₁ (and) PN₂ of M. have kept (them) in possession in M.; PN₃ of E. has kept (them) in possession in A.; PN₄ of ’A., who dwells in ’A’. ARET 8 523 (21): (2+2+2 garments) PN₁ PN₂ *Hu-ti-mu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma Hu-ti-mu*^{ki}. ARET 8 526 (4): (2+2 garments) PN₁ PN₂ *A-ba-nu*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma A-ba-nu*^{ki}; 526 (7): (2+2 t. objects) PN₁ *Ir-i-NE-du*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma Ir-i-NE-du*^{ki} PN₂ *Gur-ad*^{ki} šu-du₈ *in-ma Gur-ad*^{ki}.

4. *mi-in* ‘in’

The writing *mi-in* for ‘in’ (locative) opposes *mi-nu* ‘from’ in the two rituals for the enthroning of the royal couple, ARET 11 1 and 2.¹⁸

4.1. Locative ‘in’¹⁹

ARET 11 1 (83): *en ù ma-lik-tum mi-in duru₅ :é igi-igi nu igi-igi* ‘the king and the queen in (their) room . . .’; 2 (87) is parallel: . . . *mi-in 2 é-duru₅^{ki}-sù*; 1 (67): *mi-in 1 šu-sù* ‘in one of his hand(s)’. (The parallel text, ARET 11 2 has [73]: *in é-duru*^{ki}; [70]: *in da* ‘at [his] side’; [111]: *in 1 šu-sù* ‘in one of his hand[s]’.) ARET 11, passim.

4.2. Temporal ‘in, on’²⁰

ud—ARET 11 1 (17): *mi-in ud ba₄-ti ma-lik-tum si-in SA.ZA_x*^{ki} ‘on the day the queen arrives at the palace’. ARET 11 1 (19), (20), 2 (19)–(21)(38): *mi-in 3 / 4 ud gibil iti* . . . ‘on the 3d/4th new day of the month . . .’.²¹

17. E. Sollberger, ARET 8 60. For other terms with *-ma*, cf. ARET 11 158.

18. Fronzaroli, ARET 11 160–61.

19. Fronzaroli, ARET 11 22, 29–30 and 160.

20. Fronzaroli, ARET 11 23 and 160–61. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1913) 2.400–401.

21. The parallel text, ARET 11 2, has *in ud* instead of *mi-in ud*, see (3), (19); but in (21): *mi-in 5 ud gibil* . . . *al₆-tuš*. Probably [*in*] *al₆-tuš in* (98); see ARET 11 3 (11) and (13).

a-ḥé-rí ud-ud—ARET 11 1 (86): *mi-in a-ḥé-ri* ud-ud *sa-ba-tum* maḥ ‘on the other days of the first rite of 7 days’. ARET 11 passim.

mu-si-im—ARET 11 1 (86): *mi-in mu-si-im* ‘at night’.

5. *si-in* ‘to, for’

Cf. South Arabian *sn*.²² The functions of *sin* are similar to Akk. *ana* and to Common Semitic (except Akk. and Ebl.) *la*.

5.1. Allocutive ‘to’

si-in appears in the introductory formulas of the letters exchanged within the palace organization (in the letters sent from the chancery of one state to another chancery, ²*a₅-na* is used).

- a. TM.75.G.1444 I 10–13, III 10–13, X 9–12, XII 15–17(!): *en-ma Ib-rí-um si-in* en ‘Thus (speaks the vizier) Ibrum to the king’.²³ TM.75.G.2561 obv. VI 6–9: *wa du₁₁-ga si-in* PN ‘and they said to PN’.
- b. TM.75.G.1531 obv. I 1–4: *en-ma en si-in I-bí-zi-kir* ‘Thus (speaks) the king to (the vizier) I.’ TM.75.G.1391 obv. I 1–4, TM.75.G.2039 obv. I 1–4, TM.75.G.2175 obv. I 1–4: *en-ma en si-in Du-bù-ḥu-^{d3}À-da* ‘Thus (speaks) the king to D. (the son of the vizier Ibbi-Zikir)’. TM.75.G.1449 obv. III 1–4: *en-ma* PN₁ *si-in* PN₂ ‘Thus (speaks) PN₁ to PN₂’.

5.2. Allative, Directive ‘to’ (see also ²*a₅-na*, 2.2.)

Verb (PN) GN—TM.75.G.1444 XVIII 4–7: *wa gi₄ si-in* GN ‘and he came back to GN’.²⁴ TM.75.G.2562 obv. I 3–10: *wa DU.DU si-in* GN₁ *wa è si-in* GN₂ ‘and he went to GN₁ and he went out to GN₂’; III 3–6: *lu DU.DU si-in en* GN ‘who went to the king of GN’. ARET 11 2 (33): *in ud DU.DU si-in* GN ‘when she goes to GN’; ARET 11 1(39): *è mi-nu* GN₁ *si-in* GN₂ ‘They go out from GN₁ to GN₂’. ARET 2 15 (1): (garment) *en in ud è si-in Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘a garment (for) the king when he left for Mari’. Passim.

GN—ARET 9 99 (1): (malt) *si-in Ḥa-lab^{ki} in nídba I-bí-zi-kir* ‘malt to Ḥ. for the offering of I.’ ARET 9 20 (12): (ninda) *níg-kaskal I-bí-zi-kir si-in Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘bread: victual (for) I. (leaving) for M’. ARET 4 1 (119): (wool, objects) *si-in Bí-na-áš^{ki} En-na-ì pa₄-šeš^d KU-ra* ‘wool (and) objects to B. (for) E., the *p*-priest of K.’ ARET 9 82 (10): (oil) *^dKU-ra si-in Bí-na-su^{ki}* ‘oil (for) K. to B.’ ARET 4 23 (36): (silver) *gi-tum ḥúb Û-ti šu-mu-“tag₄” si-in Ḥa-la-bí-du^{ki}* ‘silver (for) the agreement (with) the acrobats PN has brought to Ḥ’. Passim. Cf. ARET 1 11 (18): (garments) PN GN *in ud Ib-rí-um du₁₁-ga si-in La-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}* ‘garments for PN of GN when I. ordered to (?) L.’

22. Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 (1979) 13. K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica edita et glossario instructa* (Rome, 1931) 255–56.

23. Edzard, *SEb* 4 (1981) 36–46.

24. *Ibid.*, 46.

DU.DU níg-kas₄—ARET 4 21 (9): 100 íb. *Ĥi-da-ar Ma-rí*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti lú DU.DU *si-in* níg-kas₄ ‘100 waistbands: Ĥ. of M. has received, who went on the journey’. ARET 9 86 (2): (flour) níg-kaskal guruš-guruš DU *si-in* níg-kas₄ ‘flour (as) victual (for) the workers (who) went on a journey’. ARET 9 passim.

ú-il—ARET 11 2 (27), (28): PN₁ PN₂ . . . ú-il *si-in* GIŠ-gígir-sum DN ‘PN₁ (and) PN₂ bring . . . to the wagon of DN.’ ARET 11, passim (also ba₄-ti, mu-DU, šu-mu-“tag₄”).

ARET 1 11 (41), TM.75.G.1935 obv. VIII 4–10: níg-dé ì-giš *si-in* sag PNF (dumu-mí *Ib-rí-um*) *in* ud níg-mu-sá ‘(when) he poured the oil on the head of PNF, (the daughter of I.,) when she married’ (cf. TM.75.G.1250 obv. I 3–13: [garments] PN dumu-nita en GN níg-a-dé ì-giš al₆ sag PNF dumu-mí [en] ‘garments [for] PN, the son of the king of GN, [when] he poured the oil on the head of PNF, the [king’s] daughter’).

5.3. Dative ‘for, to’

PN—ARET 2 12 (19): (garments) *si-in* GN PN šu-ba₄-ti ‘garments for GN: PN received (them)’. ARET 7 127: (garments) PN₁ ì-na-sum *si-in* PN₂ lú níg-ba: ‘garments: PN₁ has given to PN₂ as a gift’. Passim.

šu (cf. Akk. *analina qati*)—ARET 2 29 (5) and (12): *wa* ì-na-sum-sù PN₁ *si-in* 2 šu (PN₂) GN ‘and PN₁ put them in the hands of (PN₂ of) GN’. ARET 2 34 (1): *Ar-mi*^{ki} ì-ti *si-in* 1 šu uru^{ki} ‘Armi is in the hand of the City (i.e., Ebla)’.

GN—ARET 2 19 (17): še *si-in* GN ‘barley for GN’. ARET 2 29 (1): udu lú PN ì-na-sum *si-in* GN ‘sheep which PN has given to GN’.

5.4. To Express Cause, Reason, Purpose

É×PAP—ARET 2 15 (6): (garments, objects) PN₁ lú PN₂ *si-in* É×PAP ‘garments (and) objects (for) PN₁ (son) of PN₂ for the funeral ceremony’. Passim.

húl—ARET 1 14 rev. V 11: *in* ud GIŠ.DUG.DU en *si-in* húl na-rú-sù ‘when . . . (to?) the king for the festival of his stele’.

sikil—ARET 9 95 (6): (malt) . . . *si-in* sikil ^dAš-da-bíl nídba PN ‘malt . . . for the purification of A., offering of PN’. ARET 9 82 (9): (oil) íl *si-in* sikil nídba ^dAš-da-bíl ‘oil: drawing for the purification (by) the offering of A’.

ARET 2 34 (9): *wa* e₁₁ *si-in* ba-ḥa-da-núm ì-ti ‘and (if) they go down for a raid (and) come back’. ARET 8 521 (1), (15): (garments PNN) en níg-dug-DU *si-in* šu-mu-nígin DN ‘garments (to) PNN the king has . . . for the cultic journey of DN’. ARET 9 17 (19): (bread) *si-in* ud-zal-ud-zal ‘bread for dawn’.

5.5. To Show What Is Added

a-gár₅-(gár₅)—ARET 2 52 (1) x an-na šub *si-in* x a-gar₅ (object) ‘tin to be blended with copper (in order to make) an object’. Passim.

5.6. Temporal

To express the end of a period of time—ARET 7 73 obv. II 2–5: áš-du-ma iti x *si-in* y ‘from month x to month y’. ARET 7 82 (4): 6 iti áš-da (iti) *ir-mi* *si-in* iti ik-za ‘6 months: from (month) IX to month II’. TM.75.G.1766 rev. I 6–II 4: áš-du ud-ud *si-in* ud-ud al₆-tuš uru-bar ‘from (these) days until (those) days you will stay in (that)

village'; obv. III 3 rev. I 2: *ap an-na nu-ba₄-ti si-in* 10 mu sag-du₈ 'and so I will not take (it); for 10 years it is at (your) disposal'.²⁵

5.7. *si-ma* 'to, until'

An emphatic form of *si-in*: /sin-ma/.²⁶

TM.75.G.1766 obv. I 5–II 4: *si-ma* 10 mu en sag-du₈ *wa ì-na-sum-kum é* 'for 10 years the king puts at (your) disposal and gives you (this) house' (cf. obv. III 3 rev. I 2: *ap an-na nu-ba₄-ti si-in* 10 mu sag-du₈ 'and so I will not take [it]; for 10 years it is at [your] disposal'). ARET 3 398 obv. III 1–7: *lú-]kar GN₁ wa gi₄ si-ma en GN₂* '] the merchant of GN₁ and he came back to the king of GN₂'.

{6. *šè* Masculine-Singular Genitive of the Determinative-Relative Pronoun

At the beginning of Eblaite studies, I. J. Gelb identified the preposition *iš* in the *šakkanakku*'s texts from Mari.²⁷ According to him "the preposition is obviously the same as the dative-allative case ending *-iš* (originally a postposition), generally used in the Sargonic period, as *in qātiš* 'to the hand', and the common Akkadian adverbial ending *-iš*, as in *arhiš* 'quickly'. The preposition *iš* is, however, unknown in Akkadian or any other Semitic language." At that time, Gelb was not directly aware of any passage in Eblaite with the supposed preposition *iš*.²⁸

The suffix *-iš*²⁹ is well attested in the documentation from Ebla:

a-li-iš /al-iš/; see 1.1.2

ar-ḥi-iš ar-ḥi-iš, TM.75.G.2420 359–361 (treaty with Abarsal): *maškim-gi₄ ar-ḥi-iš ar-ḥi-iš* DU.DU 'the agents must go very promptly'

si-gi-iš; see 15.2

a-bar-rí-iš (cf. Akk. *ebēru* 'to cross', *eber*, *ebar*) ARET 5 6 VII 1–3: *^dUtu u₅ a-bar-rí-iš ti-à-ma-dím ḪU.DU NE.IŠ in a-bar-rí-iš* 'Šamaš rode to the other side of the sea . . . on the other side of the sea'³⁰

a-ga-mi-iš from *a-ga-mu-um*, *^ckm (cf. Akk. *ekēmu* 'to take away'), TM.76.G.199 obv. I 11–13: *ì-na-sum a-ga-mi-iš gurus-guruš*

da-ma-ti-iš, TM.75.G.10074 obv. X 17–24: PN *šè* DU.DU *da-ma-ti-iš ki-sur Ib-la^{ki} wa Ar-mi^{ki}* '(for) PN for his going to the lamentation at the boundary (between) Ebla and Armi'

du-rí-iš, ARET 5 6 XII 3–4: *du-rí-iš ^dEn-ki* 'to the fortress (?) of Enki'³¹

ma-lu-ga-iš, TM.75.G.1730+ rev. 10–13: *tu₅ :a é ma-tim Bí-na-áš^{ki} ma-lu-ga-iš en* 'purification of the mausoleum (in) B. for the enthroning of the king'

25. Cf. Fronzaroli, *SEb* 1 (1979) 4–5.

26. Cf. K. Hecker, in *Ebla 1975–1985* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1987) 241 n. 85.

27. See I. J. Gelb, *RA* 50 (1956) 4–5.

28. Idem, "Thoughts," 23. For Ebla, he relied on G. Pettinato, *Or* 44 (1975) 372. For the possible use of *-iš* in other Semitic languages, see I. J. Gelb, *Sequential Reconstruction of Proto-Akkadian* (Chicago, 1969) 90–91.

29. See Fronzaroli, *SEb* 5 (1982) 105, who quotes *a-ba-rí-iš* and *a-ga-mi-iš*.

30. Cf. D. O. Edzard, ARET 5 49; Krebern timer, QdS 18 83.

31. Ibid., 109.

mu-lu-iš /mullû-iš/, TM.75.G.2502 obv. IV 1–14: (tin and copper) UNKEN-ak 200 gír mar-tu zú-ak . . . 1 gír mar-tu *mu-lu-iš* 1 *li-im* gír mar-tu *A-la-ga*^{ki} ‘tin (and) copper in order to make 200 daggers m. . . (and) 1 dagger m. in order to reach 1000 daggers (for the workers of) A.’; rev. X 12–16: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ 90 lá-2 gír mar-tu zú-ak lú *mu-lu-iš* gír mar-tu guruš-guruš ‘silver: value of 88 daggers m. in order to reach (the number of) the daggers m. (for) the workers’

wa-za-rí-iš, /wašār-iš/ (cf. Lexical Lists baḥar = *wa-zi-lu-um* ‘potter’; Bab. *ešēru*, Ass. *ešāru* ‘to draw, to form’; Ugar., Heb. *yšr*), TM.75.G.2428 obv. XVIII 8–14: (tin and copper) *wa-za-rí-iš* 1 gi-di ne-di en ‘tin (and) copper in order to make a flute (for) the dancers of the king’

The preposition posited by Gelb is, instead, written with the sign ŠÈ,³² whose only attested phonetic value is šè.³³ This is the form of the masc.-sg. gen. of the determinative-relative pronoun. P. Fronzaroli has therefore suggested always recognizing in šè this pronominal form, used as a logogram, as is also the case with the pronominal suffix, 3d masc. sg. -sù.³⁴ This seems to be the only sound explanation. Eblaite šè cannot, therefore, be connected with *iš* ‘for’, now well attested in the Pre-Sargonic documents from Mari and Beydar.³⁵ According to O. D. Gensler, both IŠ in Mari (explained as an Akkadogram) and ŠÈ in Ebla (supposed to be a Sumerogram) should stand for “standard” Akkadian *ana*.³⁶ But neither the range of meaning for Eblaite ŠÈ nor that of Pre-Sargonic IŠ overlaps with that of the Akkadian preposition *ana*.³⁷ Instead of šè, Eblaite can have: *in* ud, *in*, lú (which can stand for the determinative-relative pronoun), and (although rarely) áš-du and si-in.

DU.DU—ARET 7 122: (garments) PN šu-ba₄-ti šè DU.DU *I-bí-zi-kir si-in Na-gàr*^{ki}: ‘garments: PN has received, those of (= on the occasion of) I.’s going to N.’ MEE 2 40 rev. III 12–V 4: (garments) NP₁ GN₁—NP₁₁ GN₁₁ šè DU.DU nídba i-giš *wa nam-ku*₅ é ^dKU-*ra* ‘garments (to) PN₁ GN₁—PN₁₁ GN₁₁ on the occasion of his going for the oil offering and the oath in the temple of K’. MEE 2, *passim*.

šu-ba₄-ti—ARET 1 8 (74): (garments, objects) mu-DU GN₁ šè šu-ba₄-ti GN₂ ‘garments (and) objects: delivery of GN₁ on the occasion of the conquest of GN₂’.

tu-da—ARET 4 7 (9): (garments) *ma-za-lum* GN šu-mu-“tag₄” níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* šè tu-da-sù ‘garments (to) the messenger of GN (who) has brought a gift (to) the queen, which is for having given birth’. ARET 4 7 (18): (garments) en é simug šè

32. G. Pettinato MEE 2 272 ad rev. III 22: *éš*. Pennacchietti, “Sistema preposizionale,” 297–98: *éš* or, as a Sumerogram, šè. Limet, “Systeme prepositionnel,” 65: Sumerogram šè. M. G. Biga and L. Milano, ARET 4 321 and A. Archi, ARET 1 303: ŠÈ.

33. M. Krebernik, ZA 72 (1982) 202; Conti, *MisEb* 3 16.

34. P. Fronzaroli, *MARI* 5 (1987) 268–69.

35. *Ibid.*, 68 no. 2 I 3; p. 71 no. 5 IV 1, no. 6 II 3; *passim*. *Subartu* 2 (1996) 180.

36. O. D. Gensler, “Mari Akkadian IŠ ‘to, for’ and Preposition-Hopping,” *Or* 66 (1997) 129–56.

37. Contrary to what Gensler believes. Moreover, the Sumerian terminative element -šè was known to the Eblaite scribes only from a few literary texts of Mesopotamian origin; see Krebernik, QdS 18 70 and 139. IŠ could be in fact a logographic writing, standing for *isqu* ‘lot’ = ‘that concerning’; cf. MAḤ for *mahrû*, in Eblaite; see below, §12.

tu-da *ma-lik-tum* ‘garments (to) the king (for) the house of the smiths of those (given because) the queen has given birth’ (ARET 4 7 [16]–[17]: [garments] PN [garments] *maškim-sù Ì-mar^{ki}* mu-DU *níg-ki-za Ru₁₂-zi-da-mu en Ì-mar^{ki}* lú tu-da *ma-lik-tum* ‘garments [to] PN and his agents of GN₁ [in exchange for] the delivery belonging to [= from the side of] R., the king of GN₁, which [was delivered because] the queen [of Ebla] has given birth’).

ug₇—ARET 1 1 (61): (garments) *ì-giš-sag I-bí-zi-kir šè ug₇ Tíš-ma-dUtu* ‘garments (for) the head(–purification) with oil of I., which is for (= on the occasion of) the death of T. (his wife)’. TM.75.G.1962 rev. III 13–15; TM.75.G.2428 obv. III 24–25; TM.75.G.2507 obv. III 24–25: *šè ug₇ PN* (cf. ARET 4 5 [12]: lú ug₇ PN; TM.75.G.2502 rev. IV 24–27: *áš-du ug₇ ma-lik-tum GN* ‘concerning the death of the queen of GN’).

níd_{ba}—ARET 8 534 (26): (gold) *nu₁₁-za 2 an-dùl níg-ba en DN šè níd_{ba}* ‘gold: plate (for) 2 statues, gift of the king (to) DN on the occasion of (his) offering’ (TM.75.G.2465 obv. X 25–XI 4: [silver] PN *si-in níd_{ba} en DN* ‘silver [to] PN for the offering of the king [to] DN’).

níg-kas₄—ARET 1 39 obv. I 1–II 5: (gold, objects) *níg-ba I-bí-zi-kir šè níg-kas₄ Ĥar-zú^{ki}* ‘gold (and) objects: gift (to) I., which is for (his) journey to Ĥ’. MEE 2 40 obv. X 6–13: (garments) PNF *ma-lik-tum Ì-mar^{ki}* *šè ì-ti níg-kas₄ GN* ‘garments (for) PNF, the queen of I., which is (for when) she was present (after) a journey (to) GN’ (TM.75.G.1730 obv. XX 1–6: [objects] *in-na-sum SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud níg-kas₄ GN* ‘objects given to the palace on the occasion of the journey [to] GN’).

7. *a-dè* ‘instead of’; Emphatic Form: *a-ti-ma* ‘until’

OAKk. OA *adi, adum*; Akk. *adi*; Heb., Ugar. ‘*ad(ē)*’; Aram. ‘*ad*’.³⁸

7.1. *a-ti-ma* ‘up to, until, as long as’

Temporal—ARET 2 5 (30): (silver) lú *áš-du-ma še-gur₁₀ a-ti-ma* ‘*hu¹-la¹-mu¹* (?) ‘silver concerning (the period) from (month) II to (month) X (?)’; ARET 2 34 (14): *a-ti-ma sa-rí-im* ‘until evening’.³⁹ ARET 11 3 (2): *nu-túg-ZI-ZI a-ti-ma mu-DU é DN* ‘she (i.e., the queen) does not put on (those dresses) before entering the temple of DN’. ARET 11 1 (5), 2 (7): *a-ti-ma mu-DU é DN si-in bàd nu mu-DU* ‘before entering the temple of DN (the queen) does not enter in(side) the walls’. ARET 11 1 (84), 2 (88): *a-ti-ma al₆ GIŠ-uštil a-bù-sù / a-mu-a-mu-sù tuš / al₆-tuš* ‘as long as they sit on the thrones of their fathers’. ARET 11, *passim*.

7.2. *a-dè* ‘because of, instead of, as a replacement for, value of’

Goods as a replacement for other goods or expressing the value of goods—ARET 2 24 (4): (silver) *a-dè 2 BAR.AN.SAL* ‘silver as a replacement for 2 she-mules’. ARET 1 5 (53): (1+5+5+5 garments) PN₁–PN₆ *a-dè bar₆ :kù lú áš-da PN₇ šu-ba₄-ti* ‘1+5+5+5 garments (for) PN₁–PN₆ instead of the silver they have received from PN₇’. ARET 4 6 (9): (5+5+5 garments) 50 gín *bar₆ :kù PN₁–PN₅ maškim PN₆ ì-ti áš-da Mi-mi-a-du a-dè níg-ba-sù šu-ba₄-ti* ‘5+5+5 garments (for) 50 shekels of silver

38. Beydar: *a-ti*; see Subartu 2 (1996) 175.

39. Cf. P. Fronzaroli, “Il culto degli Angubbu,” *MisEb* 2 14.

(for) PN₁–PN₅, agents of PN₆, instead of the gift they received when they were in the presence of (?) M.’ (M. was an official of Armi, and MEE 10 29 obv. IX 22–36 concerns the same transaction: 50 gín bar₆ :kù PN₁–PN₅ maškim PN₆ *a-dè* níg-ba-sù lú šu-ba₄-ti in *Ar-mi*^{ki} ì-ti *áš-da* *Mi-mi-a-du* maškim ‘50 shekels of silver [for] PN₁–PN₅, agents of PN₆, instead of the gift they received in A. when they were in the presence of (?) M., the agent’). TM.75.G.1730 rev. VI 24–26: (silver) *a-dè* 1 an-dùl ‘silver for 1 statue’. TM.75.G.10235 passim: (silver) *a-dè* x gud ‘silver: value of x heads of cattle’. TM.75.G.1985 obv. VII 6–8: 1,480 *gú-bar* še *a-dè* 3 ma-na bar₆ :kù ‘1,480 measures g. of barley: value of 3 minas of silver’.

Replacement of the same kind of objects (the same function is expressed by *áš-du*)—ARET 8 539 (19): 8 ma-na bar₆ :kù šu-bal-ak 2 ma-na kù-gi 1 dib *a-dè* 1 dib-sù sikil DN ‘8 minas of silver in exchange for 2 minas of gold (for) 1 ingot, as a replacement for 1 ingot from him (for) the purification (by) DN’. MEE 10 29 obv. XVII 16–22: (gold) 1 *ma-da-u-um* dam *a-dè* 1 *ma-da-a-um-sù* lú ì-na-sum *Ti-ša-li-im* ‘gold (for) 1 m. from a woman, as a replacement for 1 m. of her that T. had given’. TM.75.G.2507 rev. IX 2–8: (silver) níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en *a-dè* 1 gír mar-tu-sù sikil DN ‘silver (for) the purchase of 1 dagger m. of gold from the king, as a replacement for 1 dagger m. of him (for) the purification (by) DN’ (in rev. XXI 11, in the same context, *áš-du* instead of *a-dè*). TM.75.G.10201 rev. VII 8–15: (gold) 1 *ma-da-u-um* *I-bí-zi-kir* *a-dè* 1 *ma-da-a-um-sù* ì-na-sum en GN ‘gold (for) 1 m. from I. as a replacement for 1 m. of his that the king of GN had given him’.

(The term LUL-gu-ak has an analogous function; cf. MEE 10 29 obv. X 3–10: [gold] 1 dib PN₁ LUL-gu-ak 1 dib-sù in-na-sum-sù PN₂ lú PN₃ ‘gold [for] 1 ingot of PN in replacement of 1 ingot of him, his donation to PN₂ (son) of PN₃’. TM.75.G.2508 obv. V 18–23: [silver] 1 *zú-zú-ba-tum* PN LUL-gu-ak 1 *zú-zú-ba-tum* záḫ ‘silver for 1 z. of PN as a replacement for 1 z. [which was] lost’.)

To express the value of gold in silver, when the amount of gold comes from outside the palace (for the bookkeeping of metals inside the palace, šu-bal-ak is used, cf. ARET 7 234)—ARET 7 31 (1): 1 ma-na bar₆ :kù *a-dè* 24 (gín) kù-gi 2 1/2 PN ì-na-sum ‘PN has given 1 mina of silver in exchange for 24 shekels of gold (in the ratio) of 2.5 : 1 (60 : 24)’. ARET 7 31 (2): 3 ma-na bar₆ :kù *a-dè* 1 ma-na 12 (gín) kù-gi 2 1/2 PN ì-na-sum ‘PN has given 3 minas of silver in exchange for 1 mina 12 shekels of gold (in the ratio) of 2.5 : 1 (180 : 72 shekels)’.

Uncertain—MEE 2 18 obv. IV 3–rev. I 6: mu-DU in-na-sum bar₆ :kù *I-ti* ḫul-ḫul *a-dè* tuš gār-ra ir₁₁.

8. *mi-nu* ‘from’

Attested in Arab., S. Arab., Aram., Heb.

8.1. Expressing the Starting Point or Separation

ì-ti GN—ARET 1 13 (20): (garments) PN SA.ZA_x^{ki} ì-ti *áš-ti* en *mi-nu* GN ‘garments (for) PN of the palace, who was present (coming) with the king from GN’. Cf. ARET 3 467 rev. VII 6–10; ARET 8 527 (10); ARET 11 3 (22).

ì-ti níg-kas₄—PN₁–PN₂ . . . ì-ti *mi-nu* níg-kas₄ GN ‘PN₁–PN₃ . . . present (coming) from the journey (to) GN’. Cf. ARET 3 259 III 1–8; ARET 3 309 III 1–6.

ì-ti—ARET 1 16 (3): PN₁–PN₃ ì-ti *mi-nu* mè GN ‘PN₁–PN₃ present (coming) from the battle of GN’ (cf. ARET 3 obv. IV 1–5)]. ARET 1 (19): (garments) PN₁ šu-ba₄-ti *in* ud ì-ti *en mi-nu gi-ba-i* ‘garments: PN₁ has received when he was present (with?) the king (coming) from g’. Cf. ARET 3 882 III 1–5; ARET 4 3 (24).

ba₄-ti GN—ARET 3 8 II 2–4: . . . ba₄-ti *mi-nu* GN ‘. . . he returned from GN’. Cf. ARET 4 17 (40).

DU GN—ARET 1 30 (46): mu-DU PN *in* ud *mi-nu* GN DU ‘delivery of PN when he came from GN’.

DU a building—ARET 11 1 (97): DU *en mi-nu é ma-dím* ‘the king comes from the mausoleum’.⁴⁰

è GN—ARET 3 257 rev. II 1–6: (garments) 3 dam lú-kar è *mi-nu* GN ‘garments (for) 3 women of the merchant (who) returned from GN’. ARET 11 1 (39), (42), 2 (42), (45), 2 (52): è *mi-nu* GN₁ *si-in* GN₂ ‘to go out from GN₁ to GN₂’.⁴¹ Cf. ARET 3 467 obv. IV 1–8; ARET 4 2 (4), (8); ARET 8 524 (12); ARET 8 533 (39); ARET 8 538 (25).

è PN—ARET 8 526 (17): PN₁ GN è *mi-nu* PN₂ ‘PN₁ of GN (who) returned from PN₂’.

e₁₁ GN—TM.76.G.271 obv. VI 1–7: 1 *na-se*₁₁ *Ma-ri*^{ki} e₁₁ *mi-nu* SA.ZA_x *si-in* *Armi*^{ki} ‘1 man of M. (who) went out of the palace to A’.

GN—ARET 3 722 obv. II 1–5:] PN₁ *áš-du* PN₂ *mi-nu* GN ‘] PN₁ with PN₂ from GN’. Cf. ARET 4 9 (21).

a building—ARET 11 1 (4): *mi-nu é a-bí-iš* ‘from the house of her father’.

gi₄ GN—ARET 3 269 rev. I 1–4:] GN gi₄ *mi-nu* GN ‘(PN (of)] GN (who) returned from GN’.

GIŠ—ARET 4 9 (25): (garment) PN . . . TUŠ :ba *mi-nu* GIŠ *in* GN šu-ba₄-ti (cf. ARET 3 371 I 1–5, IV 6 [66] and TM.75.G.1775 [MEE 7 48] rev. V 6–8: ba-TÚŠ *al*₆ GIŠ; TM.75.G.10079 rev. II 14–18: níg-ba HÚB.KI TUŠ :ba *a-lu* GIŠ, with the peculiar writing *a-lu* for the usual *al*₆; TM.75.G.2464 rev. II 6–9: *in* ud *a-nu* GIŠ TUŠ :ba).

níg-kas₄—ARET 3 415 II 1–6: PN šu-mu-“tak₄” igi-du₈ *mi-nu* níg-kas₄ GN ‘PN (who) has brought a present (coming back) from the journey (to) GN’. Cf. ARET 8 521 (8); 8 527 (32).

šu-du₈—ARET 3 100 rev. IV 1–10:] ne-di-ne-di SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud šu-du₈ *mi-nu* GN ì-ti é PN šu-ba₄-ti.

9. *áš-da* ‘from, with, by’

áš-da, *áš-ti*, *áš-tu* (*áš-tum*) are three variants that are derived from **wist*. Oakk. has *ište* ‘with’ and *ištum* ‘from’.⁴² Outside of Akkadian, the only existing cognate is Eth. *wusta* ‘in’.⁴³

40. The parallel text, ARET 11 2 (107), has (it seems mistakenly): ba₄-ti *en si-in é ma-tim* ‘the king arrives to (!, for: from) the mausoleum’.

41. Notice that, while ARET 11 2 (48), (50), and (52) has: (animals, objects) *mi-nu* GN è DN ‘He issues animals and objects (for) DN from GN’, the parallel text, ARET 11 1, uses a different construction, (45), (47), (49): (animals, objects) *in* GN è DN ‘He issues animals and objects (for) DN in GN’.

42. I. J. Gelb, MAD 3 80. Beydar has *áš-ti* and *áš-tum*, *Subartu* 2 (1996) 176; Mari: *áš-ti*, *MARI* 5 (1987) 66 nos. 1, 2; 69–70 nos. 3 and 4, *passim*.

9.1. ‘from’

9.1.1. Showing the Source of Origin

PN—ARET 7 14: (barley) *lú-kar* GN *áš-da* PN₁ PN₂ *šu-ba₄-ti* ‘barley of (?) the merchant of GN PN₂ has received from (?) PN₁’. ARET 7 123: (garments) PN₁ *šu-ba₄-ti* in GN *áš-da* PN₂ ‘garments: PN₁ has received in GN from PN₂’. ARET 1 6 (53): (garments) PN₁–PN₆ *a-dè* (silver) *lú áš-da* PN₇ *šu-ba₄-ti* ‘garments (to) PN₁–PN₆ as a replacement for silver that they received from PN₇’. ARET 2 55: (bronze) 40 *ḥa-zi e₁₁* *áš-da* PN ‘bronze (for) 40 axes supplied by (?) PN’.

GN—TM.75.G.2429 obv. XX 4–12: (silver) *níg-du₈* 1 dam Adab^{ki} ama-gal dumu-nita nar *áš-da Ma-rí^{ki}* ‘silver: *payment* (for) 1 woman of A., mother of a young singer from M.’ ARET 2 29 (1): (sheep) *lú* PN *ì-na-sum si-in Ma-rí^{ki} áš-da Ḥa-ra-an^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti-sù* ‘sheep that PN has given for M. (and) that he received from H’.

9.1.2. Temporal

ARET 7 82 (4): 6 *iti áš-da ir-mi si-in iti ik-za* ‘6 months: from (month) IX to month II’. TM.75.G.11010+ obv. III 9–13: 3 *udu áš-da* 2 *ud-zal en nídba* ‘3 sheep: the king offered from the 2d (?) dawn’. TM.75.G.1452 obv. IV 6–rev. I 6: *wa ì-na-sum* PN₁ PN₂ *in ud ḥúl-sù áš-da ud-zal-ud-zal-sù* ‘and PN₁ has given (those fields to) PN₂ on the day of his festival (to have) forever’.

9.2. ‘with, together with’

ARET 2 33 (8): *áš-da-a* ‘with me’. ARET 2 33 (20): *áš-da-ga* ‘with you’. ARET 1 6 (51); ARET 4 22 (18); TM.75.G.10201 obv. I 27: *áš-da-sù* ‘with him’. TM.75.G.2094 rev. V 2: *áš-da-sa* ‘with her’. TM.82.G.265 obv. VI 3–16: 1 *dug* (geštin) PN₁ *in lú* PN₂ *é en áš-da kú mu-DU* ‘1 vessel (of wine)(to) PN₁ in (addition to) what PN₂ of the royal house delivered together with the food’.⁴⁴

9.3. ‘by’

PN—ARET 7 82 (1), (2): (silver and barley) *lú* 1 / 2 *mu áš-da* PN ‘silver (and) barley of the 1st/2d year by PN’. ARET 9 72 (6), (7): (barley) *šu-ba₄-ti áš-da* PN ‘barley received by PN’. ARET 9 3 (7), (8), ARET 9 70 (3): (barley) *áš-da* PN ‘barley by PN’. ARET 4 6 (9): (5+5+5 garments) 50 *gín bar₆* :*kù* PN₁–PN₅ *maškim* PN₆ *ì-ti áš-da Mi-mi-a-du a-dè níg-ba-sù šu-ba₄-ti* ‘5+5+5 garments (for) 50 shekels of silver (for) PN₁–PN₅, agents of PN₆, instead of the gift they received when they were in the presence of (?) M’ (cf. MEE 10 29 obv. IX 22–36: 50 *gín bar₆* :*kù* PN₁–PN₅ *maškim* PN₆ *a-dè níg-ba-sù lú šu-ba₄-ti in Ar-mi^{ki} ì-ti áš-da Mi-mi-a-du maškim* ‘50 shekels of silver [for] PN₁–PN₅, agents of PN₆, instead of the gift they received in A. when they were in the presence of [by] M., the agent’). ARET 8 524 (24): (garments) PN₁ of GN₁ *al₆-tuš áš-da* PN₂ GN₂ ‘garments (for) PN₁ of GN₁ who dwells by PN₂ of GN₂’. TM.75.G.2224 rev. I 5–II 3: (silver) “*tak₄*” *áš-da* PN ‘silver: left by PN’.⁴⁵

an official—ARET 4 20 (32): (garments) PN . . . *ḥi-mu-DU* (objects) *áš-da en* ‘garments (for) PN (who) will deliver objects by/concerning the king’. TM.75.G.2396

43. AHw 1, 401.

44. A. Archi, “Five Tablets from the Southern Wing of Palace G—Ebla,” *SMS* 5/2 (1993) 20.

45. Idem, “Wovon lebte man in Ebla?” *AfO Beiheft* 19 (1982) 185.

obv. IV 4–5: *áš-da* en ‘by the king’.⁴⁶ TM.75.G.10228+ rev. II 3–III 4: (oil, barley) *áš-da* ugula engar ugula engar en ‘oil, barley by the the overseers of the farmers, of the king’ (a duplicate is TM.75.G.1700 rev. II 1–III 2: [oil, barley] *lú* en ugula engar ‘oil, barley of the king [by] the overseer[s] of the farmer[s]’).⁴⁷ ARET 1 6 (54): *áš-da* ugula GN ‘by the overseer of GN’. TM.75.G.10092+ rev. V 1–4: (barley) “tak₄” *áš-da* ugula-ugula ‘barley left by the overseers’.

DN—ARET 4 9 (27): (garments) PN . . . šeš-II-ib *áš-da* DN in GN šu-ba₄-ti ‘garments: PN . . . has received in GN (because PN was) š. by DN’.

GN—ARET 8 524 (25): níg-dingir-dingir-dingir Mar-tu^{ki} TIL *áš-da* GN ‘(for) the news (that) M. was defeated by GN’. Cf. ARET 8 527 (39), ARET 8 533 (33).

10. *áš-ti* ‘from, by, with’

10.1. ‘from’

ARET 3 155 III 1–6: ‘(object) PN šu-du₈ *áš-ti* en šu-ba₄-ti ‘object: PN has received (as) possession from the king’. ARET 7 11 (3), (6), (8), (11), (12), ARET 7 13 (1), (5), ARET 7 77 (1)–(4), (12): (silver) níg-sa₁₀ (objects, garments) *áš-ti* PN / an official / GN ‘silver (for) the purchase of objects (and) garments from PN / an official / GN’. ARET 7 16 (27): (silver) níg-du₈ dumu-mí *áš-ti* GN ‘silver: payment (for) a girl from GN’.

10.2. ‘by’

GN—ARET 3 4 II 5–13: PN₁ *lú* PN₂ maškim PN₃ tuš :*lú* *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} *áš-ti* Šu-ra-an^{ki} *lú* *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} ‘PN₁ of PN₂, agent of PN₃, who dwells (in) K., by Š. of K.’ ARET 7 115 rev. II 1–6: in mu Ma-ri^{ki} GÍN.ŠÈ *áš-ti* GN ‘year in which M. was defeated by GN’.

PN—ARET 1 26 rev. I 1–2: (garments) *áš-ti* PN ‘garments by PN’. ARET 1 18 (1): (garments) *lú* Ib-rí-um “tak₄” *áš-ti* PN in GN ‘garments of I.: left by PN in GN’. ARET 3 861 I 1–8:] PN₁ GN₁ al₆-tuš *áš-ti* PN₂ in GN₂ šu-ba₄-ti ‘[garments:] PN₁ of GN₁, who dwells by PN₂ in GN₂, has received’.

10.3. ‘with’

Express the idea of company—ARET 5 7 III 6, V 4: *áš-ti-sa* ‘with her’.⁴⁸ TM.75.G.2420 575: *áš-ti* dam guruš ma-nu-ma ná ‘whoever lies with a man’s wife’. TM.75.G.2465 obv. V 24–VI 8: (silver) níg-ba en-en *lú* *áš-ti* en Na-gàr^{ki} DU.DU nam-ku₅ é DN ‘silver: gift for the kings who went with the king of N. to swear (in) the temple of DN’. ARET 1 13 (20): (garments) PN SA.ZA_x^{ki} ì-ti *áš-ti* en mi-nu GN ‘garments (for) PN of the palace who was present (coming) with the king from GN’. ARET 4 16 (48): (garment) PN₁ ma-za-lum DU *áš-ti* PN₂ PN₃ GN ‘garment (for) PN₁, the messenger, (who) went with PN₂ (and) PN₂ of GN’. ARET 4 17 (61): (garments) GN DU *áš-ti* guruš Ma-rí^{ki} ‘garments (for a man of) GN (who) went with a man of M.’

46. See P. Fronzaroli, *SEb* 7 (1984) 10.

47. For the last text, see Archi, “Wovon lebte man in Ebla?” 182.

48. Cf. Krebernik, *QdS* 18 105.

11. *áš-du* (*áš-tum*: ARET 3 635 rev. I 3) ‘from, as a Replacement for’

11.1. ‘from’

11.1.1. Showing a Starting Place in Space

GN—MEE 3 47+ rev. II 1–7, MEE 3 50 rev. II 1–7; ARET 5 20+ XVI 1–6:⁴⁹ *in* ud dumu-nita-dumu-nita dub-sar e₁₁ *áš-du* Ma-rí^{ki} ‘when the young scribes came up from M.’ ARET 7 10 (7): (silver) maškim raš :ga *áš-du* Ma-rí^{ki} e₁₁ ‘silver (for) the agent of the merchant (who) came up from M’.

11.1.2. Showing the Origin

hi-mu-DU . . . PN—ARET 8 529 (5): (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ hi-mu-DU (sheep) ma-lik-tum *áš-du* I-bí-zi-kir ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) will deliver sheep (for) the queen from I’. (Some passages in 11.2. may belong here.)

šu-mu-“tak₄” . . . PN—ARET 1 7 (40): (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” KA-aš *áš-du* I-bí-zi-kir m[a-lik-tu]m ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) has brought the resolution (for) the queen (?) from I’. ARET 8 532 (33): (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” bíl :’à en *áš-du* I-bí-zi-kir in GN ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) has brought. . . (for) the king from I. in GN’. ARET 8 541 (43): (garments) PN₁ lú PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” igi-du₈ *áš-du* I-bí-zi-kir in GN ‘garments (to) PN₁ of PN₂ (who) has brought a present from I. in GN’. ARET 8 532 (36): (garment) šu-mu-“tak₄” igi-du₈ *áš-du* PN in GN šu-ba₄-ti ‘garment (to whom) has brought a present from PN, he has received (it) in GN’. TM.75.G.10076 obv. III 14–IV 13: (garment) PN₁ maškim PN₂ šu-mu-“tak₄” igi-du₈ *áš-du* I-bí-zi-kir dumu-nita Ib-rí-um mi-nu šu-mu-nigin DN ‘garment (to) PN₁, agent of PN₂, (who) has brought a present from I., son of I., on the cultic journey of DN’ (some passages in 11.2. may belong here).

ARET 3 635 rev. I 2–6: (lapis-lazuli) *áš-tum* I-ti raš :ga Ma-rí^{ki} ‘lapis-lazuli from PN, the merchant of GN’.

11.1.3. Temporal

11.1.3.1. ‘from’ (*áš-du-ma*)

TM.75.G.2396 obv. II 3–7: ap *áš-du-ma* ud in-na-sum GiŠ.ÉRIN ‘Further, from today on he gives (these fields) . . .’. ARET 2 5 (30): (silver) lú *áš-du-ma* še-gur₁₀ a-ti-ma ‘hu¹-la¹-mu¹(?)’ ‘silver concerning (the period) from (month) X to (month) VI(?)’. ARET 7 73 (1): *áš-du-ma* iti ha-li si-in iti è ‘from month V to month XI’. TM.75.G.2655+ rev. VII 6–9: *áš-du-ma* iti ik-za si-in iti ik-za ‘from month II to month II’.

11.1.3.2. ‘For the Period of’

ARET 7 21 (1): (silver) PN *áš-du* 5 mu mu-DU é en ‘silver: PN has delivered for the period of 5 years (to) the house of the king’. ARET 7 77 (18): (total: . . . silver) dub-gar níg-sa₁₀ *áš-du* 7 mu ‘total: . . . silver. Document (concerning) purchases for the period of 7 years’. ARET 2 4 (18): (total: . . . silver . . . gold) lú lugal *áš-du* 4 mu ‘total: . . . silver, . . . gold, of the king (of Mari) for the period of 4 years’ (the list of

49. For the last text, see my “Transmission of the Mesopotamian Lexical and Literary Texts,” QdS 18 28.

the months given in the document covers 4 years). ARET 2 20 (4): (grain, oil) è *áš-du* 4 mu ‘grain, oil outgoing for the period of 4 years’.

11.2. ‘near, concerning’⁵⁰

TM.75.G.1531 obv. II 5–III 1: *en-ma en áš-du-na ì-ti mi-na kú kalam^{tim} .ki* kalam^{tim} .ki ‘Thus the king, “Near us there is everything to eat (for) the countries”’. TM.75.G.2171 rev. V 3–5: *áš-du-nu še ì-na-sum* ‘he put the barley near us’. ARET 7 130 (3): (garments) PN GN *maškim I-bí-zi-kir ì-ti áš-du I-bí-zi-kir* ‘garments (for) PN of GN, the agent of I., (who) was present with I.’ ARET 7 156 rev. III 2–7: *dam-dingir áš-du 3 šeš-šeš nu-è è-ma ki-sù* ‘the priestess did not go out near (her) brothers but went out (to) her place’.

ARET 7 17 (10): (total: . . . silver, . . . gold) *áš-du En-na-^dDa-gan lugal 1 mu* ‘total: . . . gold, . . . silver; concerning E. king (of Mari for) 1 year’. MEE 2 13 rev. VI 3–V 3–5: *1 mu áš-du En-na-^dDa-gan lugal* ‘1 year; concerning E., king (of Mari)’.

hi-mu-DU—ARET 1 7 (61): (garments) *hi-mu-DU GIŠ-x-NÍG áš-du PN* ‘garments (to someone) because he will bring . . . by/from PN’. ARET 4 20 (14): (garment) *PN₁ lú PN₂ hi-mu-DU GIŠ-ti du-nu-LUM áš-du en* ‘garment (to) PN₁ from PN₂ because he will bring arrow(s) . . . concerning the king’ (the parallel passage in [32] has: *áš-da*).

šu-mu-“tak₄”—ARET 1 11 (49): (garment) *PN SA.ZA_x šu-mu-“tak₄” uzu áš-du DN* ‘garment (to) PN of the palace, (who) has brought meat concerning (the festival of) DN’. ARET 4 9 (15): (garments) *Ì-mar^{ki} šu-mu-“tak₄” bîl :’à áš-du Ti-ša-li-im* ‘garments (to someone) of I. (who) has brought . . . by/from T.’; (21): (garments) *PN dub-sar šu-mu-“tak₄” ga-raš-SAR áš-du I-bí-zi-kir mi-nu GN* ‘garments (to) PN, the scribe, (who) has brought . . . by I. from GN’. ARET 8 527 (32): (garments) *PN maškim Du-bù-ḫu-^dÀ-da šu-mu-“tak₄” ba-ḪI-GABA áš-du Du-bù-ḫu-^dÀ-da mi-nu níg-kas₄ GN* ‘garments (to) PN agent of D., (who) has brought . . . concerning D. from a journey (to) GN’.

11.3. ‘As a replacement for’ (same function as *a-dè* and *LUL-gu-ak*; see 6.2.)

ARET 3 445 I 2–8: *1 dib en áš-du 1 dib-sù sikil ^dÀ-da Ḫa-lab_x .ki* ‘1 ingot (for) the king as a replacement for 1 ingot from him (for) purification (by) ’A. of Ḫ’. ARET 8 534 (31): (silver) *níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en áš-du 1 gír mar-tu-sù ì-na-sum PN* ‘silver: purchase of 1 dagger m. of gold (for) the king as a replacement for 1 dagger m. of his that he gave (to) PN’. MEE 10 20 rev. XII 18–28: (silver) *níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en áš-du 1 gír mar-tu-sù sikil DN al₆ tu-ra PN dumu-nita-sù* ‘silver: purchase of 1 dagger m. of gold (for) the king as a replacement for 1 dagger m. of his (for) the purification (by) DN of the illness of PN, his son’. MEE 10 29 obv. III 19–24: *1 GIŠ-gígir-II . . . I-bí-zi-kir áš-du 1 GIŠ-gígir-II sikil DN* ‘1 chariot . . . (for) I. as a replacement for 1 chariot from him (for) the purification (by) DN’. Cf. MEE 10 29 rev. VI 30 ff., VIII 4 ff.; TM.75.G.1464, *passim*.

50. The meaning ‘concerning, near’ was identified by J. Krecher, “Über Inkonsistenz in den Texten aus Ebla,” in *Ebla 1975–1985* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1987) 193–95.

12. gaba ‘before, in front of’

For gaba = (*ana*) *maḥar*, as in Akkadian,⁵¹ notice the use of MAḤ as a logogram for *maḥrû* ‘first’ in the sequences of work gangs; see, e.g., TM.75.G.1669: é-duru₅^{ki} MAḤ, é-duru₅^{ki}-II/III/IV . . . ‘the first, second . . . gang’.⁵² The administrative documents have gaba-ru ‘receipt’,⁵³ and the Lexical Lists, VE no. 947, have the entry: gaba-ru = *ma-ḥa-lum/lu-um*; see Akkadian verb *maḥārum*.

12.1. Locative

ARET 7 154 rev. II 8–12: 3 *mi gána-ki gaba é* ^dAš-*dar* in-na-sum ‘he gave 300 measures of land in front of the temple of DN’. ARET 11 1 (30), (31), (70); ARET 11 2 (30), (31), (73): gaba ^dKU-*ra* (ù/wa ^dBa-*ra-ma*) ‘before, in front of DN’. TM.75.G.1444 XIV 14–20: *wa* ì-DU en gaba ^dKU-*ra* *wa* du₁₁-ga ‘and the king entered in front of DN and declared’.⁵⁴

12.2. Temporal

ARET 11 1 (54); ARET 11 2 (57): gaba mu-DU ^dKU-*ra* (ù/wa ^dBa-*ra-ma*) ‘before the entrance of DN’. TM.75.G.1689 rev. II 11–III 1 and TM.75.G.2320 rev. III 1–2: gaba *sa-ma-ti* ‘before the sunset’.⁵⁵

13. gi-ti-ma-a ‘before’

The Lexical Lists, VE no. 0128, have IGI.ME = *gi-ti-ma-a* /qidi^{ma}/ ‘before’; cf. also VE no. 721: IGI.TÙM = *ga-ti-mu* /qadi^{mu}(m)/ ‘former’, Akkadian *qadmul* /*qudmu*, Sem. **qdm*.⁵⁶ In ARET 11 1 (81) the adv. *gú-ti-im* ‘in front’ is attested, while the parallel text, ARET 11 2 (85), has IGI.TÙM. This lexeme is connected in the administrative documents with à-*da-um*-TÚG-II ‘mantel with a front side (?)’; see TM.75.G.1918 rev. XIV 18–19: 5 ’à-*da-um*-TÚG-II IGI.TÙM 44 ’à-*da-um*-TÚG-I; XVI 23–24: 21 ’à-*da-um*-TÚG-II IGI.TÙM 75 ’à-*da-um*-TÚG-I; TM.75.G.2508 rev. XX 19–20: 17 ’à-*da-um*-TÚG-II IGI.TÙM 1 *mi-at* 5 ’à-*da-um*-TÚG-I.

14. ba-lu/li ‘without’

Akk. *balu*, *balī*; Ugar. *bl*; Heb. *bal*, *balī*; Arab. *bal*

14.1. ba-li

TM.75.G.2587 rev. III 9–IV 2: *ba-li* en *Ib-la*^{ki} ‘without the king of Ebla’s (approval)’.⁵⁷ ARET 5 2 + ARET 3 186 obv. III 12–13: *ba-li ma-da-na* ‘without tendons’.⁵⁸

51. Edzard, *SEb* 4 (1981) 53.

52. See *SEb* 2 (1980) 11–15.

53. See ARET 1 282; 9 385.

54. Edzard, *SEb* 4 (1981) 44.

55. P. Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 2 6 and 16.

56. See P. Steinkeller, *OA* 23 (1984) 35–37; see now A. Archi, *NABU* 2000/64.

57. See Fronzaroli, *Amurru* 1 (1996) 129.

58. See idem, *VO* 7 (1988) 16.

14.2. *ba-li* /*bali-i*/

TM.75.G.2420 323: *ba-li* ²*a*₅-*na* *kalam-tim ma-na-ma* *nu-kas*₄-*kas*₄ ‘You may not send any messenger to the land without me (my approval)’.⁵⁹

14.3. *ba-lu-ma*

ARET 7 69 rev. I 2–4: *ba-lu-ma* *bar*₆:*kù* (!) *lú túg-túg* ‘without the silver of the garments’. TM.75.G.2251 obv. IV 2–rev. I 2: 1 *ma-ḥa-ne-lum* *kù-gi* *GÁ*×*LA* 3 *ma-na* 15 *kù-gi* *ba-lu-ma* *giš* ‘1 *m.* of gold weighing 3 minas and 15 shekels of gold without the wood’. MEE 7 13 obv. VI 4–6: (objects) *ba-lu-ma* *mu-DU* *DU-lu*^{ki} ‘(objects) without the delivery from GN’. TM.75.G.2508 rev. XXI 14–15: (silver) *níg-sa*₁₀ 217 *ma-na* 36 *gín a-gar*₅-*gar*₅ *ba-lu-ma* *túg-ZI.ZI-sù* ‘(silver:) value of 217 minas and 36 shekels copper without his/its t.-garments’. TM.75.G.5082+5083 rev. IV 2–4: 1 *dib ba-lu-ma* *na*₄ ‘1 ingot without stone’.

15. *si-gi* ‘together’**15.1. *si-gi(-ma)***

TM.75.G.1986+3221+4544 obv. V 10–rev. I 3: ¹*na-se*₁₁ [*na-s*]_e₁₁ *Ti-š[a-]li-im* . . . *si-gi-ma na-se*₁₁ *na-se*₁₁ ¹*A-bí*¹-*ḥa-du*^{ki} *šu-ti* *en ki-ki kú* ‘the people of PN . . . together with the people of GN belonging to the king will have the usufruct of (these) lands’.⁶⁰ TM.75.G.2428 obv. XIV 12–17: (objects and garments) *mu-DU NI-zi ur*₄ *en wa I-bí-zi-kir si-gi-su-ma* ‘objects and garments: delivery of N., the . . . (of Nagar) (for?) both⁶¹ the king and (the minister) Ibbi-Zikir together’. TM.75.G.1730 (MEE 7 34) rev. II 26–30: (gold) *ni-zi-mu* *nu*₁₁-*za si-gi* 1 *GIŠ-gu-kak-šub en* ‘gold for both decoration and plating (for) the point of a lance of the king’.

15.2. *si-gi-iš* (Adverb)

ARET 7 79 (11): (silver) *si-gi-iš* *GIŠ-gu-kak-gíd-šub DN* ‘silver for all together (the decoration of) the point of a lance of DN’.⁶²

16. *ba-na* ‘within’

The Lexical Lists have *ML.SÁ* = *ba-na me-si-im* ‘in the middle of the night’. For Ebl. /*bayna(y)*/, cf. Arab. *bayna*, Heb. *bēn*.⁶³

59. See idem, *Seb* 5 (1982) 101; Pettinato, *Ebla* (Milan, 1986) 392; W. G. Lambert, in *Ebla 1975–1985* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1987) 361; Edzard, *QdS* 18 201.

60. See Fronzaroli, *Amurru* 1 (1996) 130, who has determined the value of this preposition.

61. For *-su-ma* as the suffix of the the third-person dual, see idem, *MAARAV* 5–6 (1990) 121.

62. The interpretation given to this passage by H. Waetzoldt (*OA* 29 [1990] 4) does not seem convincing.

63. See M. Kreberník, *ZA* 73 (1983) 32.

Eblaite Prepositions

<i>ʿal</i> Sem.	<i>ana</i> Akk.	<i>in</i> Akk.	<i>min</i> Sem.	<i>sin</i> S. Arab.	<i>ade</i> Sem.	<i>min(u)</i> Sem.
<i>ašta/ašti/ištu</i> Akk.		gaba Sem. <i>maḥru</i>		<i>qidimay</i> Sem.	<i>balu</i> Sem.	<i>sigi</i>

Eblaite has in common with Akkadian all the prepositions studied here except *min* (which occurs elsewhere in West Semitic) and *sin*:

- *sin* is an old Semitic element that occurs only in Eblaite and in South Arabic
- *ana*, *in* / *ina*, *ašta* / *ašti* / *ištu* appear only in Eblaite and in Akkadian
- *adi* occurs, besides in Eblaite, in Akkadian and in Northwest Semitic

Eblaite and Akkadian do not have /b-/ and /l-/, which are common in the other Semitic languages.

ŠEŠ-II-IB: A Religious Confraternity

ALFONSO ARCHI

1. The members of the šēš-ib (= š.-i.)¹ were people who took part in several cultic actions on behalf of the palace.² They were chosen from among the most prominent families and served for only a few years, usually serving in pairs, a fact that explains why the notation -II- is inserted between the two terms.³ They cannot be considered a priestly class; the people devoted entirely to the cult in Eblaite society were the lú dingir-dingir ‘man of god’, the *pa₄-šeš* DN ‘purifier priest of DN’ and, probably, the lú-máš ‘exorcist’.⁴

According to two passages, even the king could have acted as a š.-i.: TM.75.G.10169 obv. II 13–20: 2 udu ^d*Aš-da-bíl* in SA.ZA_x^{ki} en nídba in ud šēš-II-ib-sù ‘The king offered two sheep (for) the god Aštāpil in the palace on the occasion of his š.-i. (i.e., when he was a š.-i.)’; TM.75.G.11010+ obv. II 12–18: 2 udu ^d*Ra-sa-ap* SA.ZA_x^{ki} en nídba in ud šēš-II-ib ‘The king offered two sheep (for) the god Rasap when (he was) a š.-i.’ Gadum, a “king’s son,” was a š.-i. on the occasion of an offering to the dyad Aga (ARET 8 541; cf. TM.75.G.1875). Three sons of the minister Ibrum

Special abbreviations: š.-i. = šēš-II-ib (sg. and pl.); Arr. = the minister Arrukum; Ib. = the minister Ibrum; I.Z. = the minister Ibbi-Zikir; AAM = annual accounts of deliveries of precious metals; LL = Lexical Lists

1. For šēš-ib as an element of Personal Names in the Early Dynastic periods, see A. Alberti and F. Pomponio, *Ur Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts* (Rome, 1986) 63–64, who propose the meaning ‘brother of the shrine’; see further M. E. Cohen, in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (ed. M. E. Cohen et al.; Bethesda, Md., 1993) 81–82.

2. The first study of the š.-i. based on the published material has been presented by G. M. Urciuoli, *AuOr* 13 (1995; but actually in 1997!) 107–26. Of the several points on which I disagree with him, I mention only that his distinction between the two categories “simple” š.-i. and the š.-i. kéš-da does not hold true. The same people could be employed on different occasions. Adaše and Azi were š.-i. kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} (TM.75.G.1389) but also went in the cultic journey to Luban (TM.75.G.1775); the same holds true for Ağušum, the agent of Ibbi-Zikir; see index 4. G. Pettinato’s idea (MEE 5 17), that the š.-i. as such were involved in a trade activity, is also not tenable; see below, §5.

The term ‘confraternity’ for the š.-i. at Ebla was introduced by P. Fronzaroli (ed.), in *Miscellanea eblaitica* (Florence, 1997) 4.6.

3. In ARET 8 521, 524, 525, 527, 540, the writing is: šēš-ib-II; see ARET 8 66.

4. The lú dingir-dingir of King Irkab-Damu was *A-ma-za-ù*, who was succeeded by his son *En-na-il/i*; the *pa₄-šeš* of the major god, ^d*Ku-ra*, was *A-du-lu*, who also was succeeded by his son *En-na-il/i*; see my “Eblaite: *pāšišu* ‘colui che è addetto all’unzione; sacerdote purificatore; cameriere al servizio di una persona’,” *VO* 10 (1996) 37–71. For the lú-máš, who is rarely attested, see below, n. 8.

acted as š.-i.: Ibbi-Zikir (who later succeeded his father), Irti, and Uti. The first made at least three cultic journeys to Luban, and the others made two, which means that they were š.-i. for at least three and two years, respectively.⁵ Three of Ibbi-Zikir's sons in due time also became š.-i.: Dubuḫu-Hadda (who due to the fall of the city was prevented from taking his turn as minister), ENti, and Ruzi-malik (this one for at least three years). Agušum, maškim or 'agent' of Ibbi-Zikir, made four journeys to Luban and was 'in service' kéš-da at the palace. Ilzi was the son of Enna-il, a 'judge' di-kud, who was active in the first years documented by the archives, when Arrukum was minister. Amur-damu, son of Išma-damu, Idenikimu of BÍL-malik, and Ruzi-malik of Raizu were sons of previous š.-i. Even the king of Kakmum served once as a š.-i. at Ebla (ARET 1 11 [36]; TM.75.G.5517), as did people from Manuwat (ARET 1 7 [53]).

Dubuḫu-Hadda and the other ministers' sons stayed in service for only a few years, probably because they received other assignments. Other people, by contrast, remained for a longer period: Dab-dar of Gaba-damu and Kun-daban, son of Ḫara-il (8 years); Azi of La'aLUM and Baganum of Dubi-Zikir (7 years); Adaša from Ukul, Amur-damu of Išma-damu, Dubi and Ibdur-išar of Kam-damu (6 years).

2. The Lexical Lists give the following equivalences concerning šeš-II-ib. No. 236: ib-šeš-II mí-du₁₁(-ga) = *ga-ma-lum* (A; B; C; D); cf. Akk. *gamālum* 'to be kind', 'to be kind as the šeš-ib-II'. Number 237: ib-šeš-II mí-du₁₁-ga = *ra-a-mu-um* (D); cf. no. 1208: mí-du₁₁-ga = 'la¹-a-mu-mu šeš-II-ib (A₂); cf. Akk. *rāmum* 'to love', 'to love as the šeš-ib-II'.⁶

This circumlocution expressing 'to be kind, to love' with respect to the š.-i. does not, however, shed much light. There is a single passage in which a š.-i. seems to address his attention to a human being, in fragment TM.75.G.4977 I:] [i-n]a-¹sum¹ šeš-II-ib mí-du₁₁-ga *ib-rí-um* NI-zi-tum '] gave to the š.-i. (who) took care of (Minister) Ibrium. . . . Otherwise, the š.-i. appear only in cultic contexts.

The š.-i. took part in conjurations.⁷ According to letter TM.76.G.86, the minister Ibbi-Zikir asked his son Ruzi-malik, who went as š.-i. on several cultic journeys to Luban, to make a 'lamentation' to the god NIdabal (section [20]: *wa si-in* ^dNI-da-bal" ér) so that the sacrifices performed by Iram-malik could give a favorable omen.⁸

5. See below, §3. The passages quoted without column and line reference are given in full in index 4.

6. See M. Krebernik, ZA 73 (1983) 11; P. Fronzaroli, in *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 13; Florence, 1984) 140 and 148; G. Conti, in *Miscellanea Eblaitica* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; Florence, 1990) 3.103–4.

7. ARET 5 4 VI 5 // ARET 5 5 III 5 // TM.75.G.2194 III 5; see M. Krebernik, VO 10 (1996) 21 and 26.

8. The text has been published by Fronzaroli in *MisEb* 4.1–21; for Ruzi-malik at Luban, see pp. 4–6. No evidence points to the fact that a š.-i. could have acted as an exorcist, as has been suggested by M. Bonechi and A. Catagnoli, SEL 15 (1998) 35. That there were both a š.-i. and a lú-máš called *Du-bí* or *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-li* must be explained as a case of homonymy. In fact, *A-ba-da-mu* lú-máš, TM.75.G.1894 rev. VI 16–17, and *Puzur'-ra*-BE lú-máš, TM.75.G.10019 rev. II 6–7 do not appear among the š.-i.

According to TM.75.G.1777, the š.-i. Irti, a son of Ibrium, acted as a ‘guard’ àga-ús in a small center, Zarramidu; Dubuḫu-Hadda, the son of the minister Ibbi-Zikir, performed guard duty during a cultic journey to Luban (TM.75.G.2245: *in ud àga-ús in šu-mu-nígin* ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}).

Many š.-i. were ‘bound to the palace’ kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki},⁹ which means that they were called to take part in sacrifices and ‘offerings’ nídba to gods whose cultic place was at the palace, such as Kura, the sun-goddess, Timut, and Šamagan; TM.75.G.1870: *Ìr-NI-ba ù maškim-sù* š.-i. kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in ud nídba* ^dKu-ra ‘I. and his agent, š.-i., bound to the palace on the occasion of the offerings to Kura’.¹⁰ Other š.-i., or the same š.-i. but on other occasions, had to perform sacrifices in other cult centers; TM.75.G.4465: kéš-da *áš-da* ^dAš-dar *Bir₅-ra-ru*₁₂^{ki} ‘bound by Eštar of B.’; TM.75.G.2401: kéš-da *in ud nídba* ^dNI-da-“bal” [’]À-ma-du^{ki}; ARET 4 9: *áš-da* ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}.

A š.-i. was not in the service of a single deity, but he was asked to go to the celebrations of different deities during the cultic year. According to TM.75.G.2401, Adaše and Ile-išar served as š.-i. for the offerings for Rasap of Duneb and then for the offerings for Nidabal of Amatu; Ibu-mudu and Marga were š.-i. for the offerings for Nidabal of Amatu, and then for offerings for Ala; all four of these people acted again as š.-i. when the king of Dub(a) was at Ebla. Ruzi-malik was š.-i. for Nidabal both in Luban and in Arugatu in the same month, TM.75.G.2275. Dubuḫu-Hadda offered to the dyad Aga (a deity in the dual) in Ebla but also went on the cultic journey to Luban, TM.75.G.2247. The š.-i. were also present at the important festival called *ir-mi/me*, which gave its name to month IX of the local calendar, *iti ir-me*, which corresponds to *iti za-lul* of the so-called Early Semitic calendar.

Furthermore, the š.-i. took part in funerary ceremonies, TM.75.G.2510 obv. V 5–8: (5 garments, 5 measures of wool) šeš-II-ib É×PAP a-mu *Du-si-gú* ‘(garments for) the (five) š.-i. (present at) the funerary ceremonies (for) the father of Dusigu (the king’s mother)’.

The documents also report the presence of the š.-i. in several small places that are not known as cult centers.¹¹

The lists registering the offerings of sheep show that the š.-i. sacrificed animals to the gods as well as the members of the royal family. TM.75.G.1173+ [iti è, month XI] obv. VIII 10–12 has: 47 udu ḫúl šeš-II-ib ‘47 sheep (for) the festival(s) of the š.-i.’, that is, for celebrations performed by the š.-i. in honor of the gods (this passage comes from the text section concerning the deliveries of animals to be sacrificed).

9. The phonetic writing of kéš-da ‘bound’ seems to be *na-a-lum* /na[’]l-um/ from *a’ālum*, *e’ēlum* ‘to bind’, according to TM.75.G.2401 obv. I 10–15: 14 šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib *na-a-lum na-a-lum* SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in ud igi-ḫi-du₈*. This passage is against the interpretation proposed for *na-a-lum* by P. Fronzaroli, *SEL* 12 (1995) 53 n. 8. The term *na-a-lum* is also connected to *ugula* in ARET 9 96 obv. I 1–4: (flour) / šu-ba₄-ti / *ugula-ugula na-a-lum* / níg-kaskal guruš-guruš ‘(x measures of flour) the overseers who are bound (to the palace) have received as provisions for the journey of the workers’.

10. See the list in index 3.

11. See index 3.

The following quotations are taken from the monthly documents registering the sheep deliveries for the last 20 months of the city:

- the dyad Aga—TM.75.G.2398 obv. V 22–24: 4 udu šeš-II-ib ^dA.-^dA.; TM.75.G.10222+ obv. II 31–III 6: 4 udu ^dA.-^dA. en nídba 4 udu šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib ^dA.-^dA.
- Ala of Gušebu—TM.75.G.2598 obv. IX 28–32: 1 udu šeš-II-ib ^dÁ. lú G.^{ki}
- Adamtum, consort of Rasap of Adani(tu)—TM.75.G.11010+ rev. II 18–III 7: 2 [udu] sikil ^dA. in ^ʾÁ.^{ki} 2 udu šeš-II-ib in ^ʾÁ.^{ki}
- Enki—TM.75.G.2517+ obv. XII 6–8: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dE.
- Gamiš—TM.75.G.2075 rev. VI 16–18: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dG.; TM.75.G.10168 rev. VI 21–23: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dG.
- Gamiš of Nlab—TM.75.G.1945 rev. IV 10–14: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dG. in N.^{ki}
- Nidabal of Amatu—TM.75.G.2598 rev. IV 3–6: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dN. ^ʾÁ.^{ki}
- Nidabal of Arugatu—TM.75.G.2516 rev. VI 10–13: 1 udu šeš-II-ib in A.^{ki}; TM.75.G.11010+ rev. III 20–IV 5: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dN. A.^{ki} 1 udu sur_x-BAR.AN A.^{ki}.
- Rasap of Adani(tu)—TM.75.G.1173+ obv. XII 3–8: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dR. ^ʾÁ.^{ki}; rev. III 4–10: 17 udu ^dR. ^ʾÁ.^{ki} *I-ti-^dNI-da-bal_x* nídba in šeš-II-ib; IV 1–4: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^ʾÁ.^{ki}; TM.75.G.1764 rev. V 15–21:] PN *wa* PN nídba [x] seš-II-ib ^dR. ^ʾÁ.^{ki}; TM.75.G.2238 obv. XII 17–20: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dR. ^ʾÁ.^{ki}.
- Rasap of Duneb—TM.75.G.2598 obv. IX 24–27: 2 udu šeš-II-ib ^dR. *D.*^{ki}; rev. III 8–11: 2 udu šeš-II-ib in *D.*^{ki}.
- Rasap of the palace—TM.75.G.11010+ obv. II 12–18: 2 udu ^dR. SA.ZA_x^{ki} en nídba in ud šeš-II-ib.

3.1. An annual cultic journey in honor of the god Nidabal of Luban requested the participation of several š.-i. (from 5 to 14 people). While Kura was the god of the city of Ebla (no other relevant hypostasis is known for him), and Hadda was already known at that time as the god of Ḫalab (*Ḫa-lab_x*^{ki}), Nidabal (*^dNI-da-bal*,¹² the second major male god) had his three most important cult centers in small towns: *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}, *ʾÁ-ma-du*^{ki} and *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}.¹³ This datum and the fact that the procession for Nidabal of Luban visited, besides the palace at Ebla, SA.ZA_x^{ki} (in the 11th place) and 35 other small localities where he was worshiped, some of which are

12. Beginning with the documents of Minister Ibrium, the sign BAL appears in this divinity name in the simplified form corresponding to KUL; see W. von Soden, in *Ebla 1975–1985* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1987) 75–80.

13. On the structure of the Eblaite pantheon, see provisionally my *OLZ* 91 (1996) 138–43. That Nidabal was the second god in importance is shown by the fact that the AAMs register first the delivery of one mina of silver for ‘the face of the god Kura’ and then some minas of silver for one or, more often, two priestesses, dam-dingir, chosen from among the king’s daughters, who had their residence in Luban, where Nidabal was venerated; see my “High Priestess, dam-dingir, at Ebla,” in “*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*”: *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum alten Orient—Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres* (ed. Manfred Dietrich and Ingo Kottsieper; Münster, 1998) 43–53.

known only from this itinerary, show that the cult of this god was deeply rooted in the core of the Ebla region.¹⁴

This itinerary is preserved on two duplicate tablets, TM.75.G.2377 and TM.75.G.2379, and it opens with Luban, which does not appear again at the end of the list.¹⁵ The last section of the document is enigmatic: 1 ud mu-DU 2 ud *i-ti-bù* uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-*da*-“*bal*” ‘first day: delivery/ies; second day: . . . Towns of the god Nidabal’s journey’.

The cultic journey fell in the month of MA×GÁNA*tenû*-úgur (at the end of the year, if this was the XIIth month).¹⁶ This action was called šu-mu-nigin, which in LL no. 509 is explained as *da-lum*; cf. Akk. *tuārum*, *tārum* ‘to return’.¹⁷ Several passages from administrative documents, in fact, require the meaning ‘return’ for šu-mu-nígin,¹⁸ while the basic meaning of the Semitic verb should be ‘to wander around, to move in circles’, which agrees with Sumerian *nígin*.

14. Considering the traits of the Syrian religion in later time and the fact that Kura, Nidabal, and Hadda were the major gods of their own centers, it seems possible that all three shared similar functions. Hadda was the ancient Semitic weather-god, while Kura and Nidabal should belong to the substrate. See A. Archi, in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (ed. B. Janowski, K. Koch, and G. Wilhelm; Göttingen, 1993) 11. P. Fronzaroli (*MARI* 8 [1997] 288–89) has suggested interpreting the god’s name ^dA₅-*da*-BAL, /hadda-ba’l/ ‘Hadda the Lord’. This unorthographic writing for the expected (^d)^hA₅-*da*-ba-al₆ / ^hA₅-*da*-BE, however, is difficult to explain, because writing was introduced in Ebla in all probability when the first tablets of the archive were drawn up, and we cannot admit a different writing tradition for the territory around Ebla. P. Xella (“*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*”: *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum alten Orient—Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres* [ed. Manfred Dietrich and Ingo Kottsieper; Münster, 1998] 887–95) sees in ^dA₅-*da*-BAL the structure of a theophoric name: /yawda’-ba’l/ ‘the Lord knows’, as in Itūr-Mer and Jakrub-il of Mari, which is possible, but with BAL having a different meaning.

15. See A. Archi, *SEb* 1 (1979) 105–13. Of these localities *Da-rí-ib*^{ki} and *A-du-bù*^{ki} consisted of two hamlets (-II), obv. I 6, II 6 and IV 4–5; there were also a ‘large’ and a ‘small’ *Du-u₉-bù*^{ki}, obv. III 4–IV 1.

16. D. Charpin (*RA* 76 [1982] 1–6) has suggested that the first month of the calendar was *iti* ^dA-*dam-ma-um* (Early Semitic calendar) // *iti* *i-si* (local calendar). M. E. Cohen’s main argument (*The Cultic Calendar of the Ancient Near East* [Bethesda, Md., 1993] 24) for placing *i-si* as the XIth and *še-kin-kud* // *ig-za* as the XIIth month is that the latter can be followed by the intercalary month, and in Mesopotamia the most common intercalary position was after the XIIth month. While it seems probable that the year also began in the spring at Ebla, if *še-kin-kud* was the XIIth month, this could hardly have been the month of the barley harvest there, since barley is harvested there today in May.

17. Cf. ARET 1 304. For LL no. 629: a-nígin = *du-lum*, *da-wu-lum*, /turrum/ or /tūrum/, see M. Civil, in *Il bilinguismo a Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1984) 82; G. Conti, *MisEb* 3 173. *AHW* 3, 1332, translates *tārum* ‘sich umwenden, umkehren, zurückkehren’. K. Hecker (*Il bilinguismo a Ebla* [ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1984] 211 n. 39) quotes Arab. *dāra* ‘sich drehen, sich im Kreise bewegen’.

18. ARET 9 27 (14), (15): . . . *ì₅-ti en lú* [š]u-mu-nígin uru ‘. . . (for) the advent of the king who came back to the city (Ebla)’; ARET 9 104 (4): *iti nídba* ^dGa-*mí-iš* uru^{ki} šu-mu-nígin *wa al₆-tuš* *iti b[e-li]* ‘month IV: return (to) the city and staying (there until) month V’. ARET 4 2 (12): *lú-kar Ma-rí*^{ki} *lú* šu-mu-nígin SA.ZA_x^{ki} ‘the merchant of Mari who returned to the palace’ (cf. the AAM TM.75.G.3481+ rev. VI 2–6: *Wa-ba-rúm* šu-ba₄-*ti in ud* šu-mu-nígin SA.ZA_x^{ki}). ARET 11 2 (116)–(117) and ARET 11 3 (26)–(27): (*wa*) *è(-ma) en wa ma-lik-tum wa* šu-mu-nígin *é dingir-dingir(-dingir)* ‘the king and the queen come out, and they return to the temple’. The same event refers to the following passage from the AAM TM.75.G.1730+ rev. XVI 9–14: *ma-lik-tum ì-na-sum in ud é dingir-dingir-dingir*.

Only 25 documents registering the cultic journey to Luban have been identified at the moment, while about 45 years are covered by the archive. It is possible that these celebrations were not recorded during the first years, when expenditures were generally lower and were therefore not relevant for the administration.

3.1.1. There are only six texts to be dated to Minister Ibrium: (a) TM.75.G.1742 ([XIIth month]; 9 š.-i.); (b) TM.75.G.1760 (XIIth month; 5 š.-i.); (c) TM.75.G.1776 ((XIIth month); 8 š.-i.); (d) TM.75.G.1783 (XIIth month; 8 š.-i.); (e) TM.75.G.2374 ([XIIth month]; 9 š.-i.); and (f) TM.75.G.2633 ([XIIth month]; 8 š.-i.). The month name is preserved only in (b) and (d). The fact that the names of the š.-i. are not listed in a fixed order¹⁹ and the number of these officials changes from text to text prevents us from putting this group of documents in chronological order. The same people (among whom are Ibbi-Zikir and Uti, two sons of Ibrium) appear in (a), (b), and (e); (c), (d), and (f) are probably earlier.

3.1.2. The first document of Minister Ibbi-Zikir (son of Ibrium) is TM.75.G.2524 ([XIIth month]; 5 š.-i.): the first š.-i., Ibdur-Kura, already acted as such at the time of Ibrium. It is followed by TM.75.G.2372 (XII month; 9 š.-i.), where Azi of Lalum does not yet appear. ARET 4 9 (XIIth month; 14 š.-i.) presents a synchronism with AAM TM.75.G.1918, and it has to be dated, therefore, to I.Z. 5. It attests to the complexity reached by the NIdabal festival at that time. There are 14 š.-i. this time, section (1); other people are connected with this celebration, as it shown by the delivery of garments (a) to someone who has brought the news (níg-AN.AN.AN.AN)²⁰ that Ilti of Hara-i(l) and Išla-i(l) of Enna-i(l) were chosen as š.-i., (5) and (27); (b) to the man who brought the product 'à-bil to Luban, (24); and (c) to Suma-i(l) and Waḥizu, who brought meat (uzu) to Luban, (29).

The following year, ARET 4 5 ('XII' month // AAM TM.75.G.10074: I.Z. 6; 9 š.-i.), all of the 9 š.-i. for Luban are already known from the preceding year, section (1). Another 10 š.-i. are in service (kéš-da) at the palace (SA.ZA_x^{ki}), (10); of these, only Azi (ʔĀ-zi lú Lá-a-LUM) appears among those already listed for Luban in section (1). Further, Suma-i(l) and Waḥizu are mentioned as having brought meat (uzu) to Luban, (34); Suma-i(l) again, for having brought the news that Kundaban was present at the á-nígin of NIdabal of Luban, (35).

Azi of Lalum also begins the list in TM.75.G.1389 (XIIth month; 10 š.-i.), as well as in ARET 1 3 (XIIth month // AAM TM.75.G.2428, I.Z. 8; 9 š.-i.), ARET 1 2 + 4 23 (XIIth month; 12 š.-i.), ARET 3 203 ([XIIth month]; x+5 š.-i.), TM.75.G.1744 ([XIIth month]; 8 š.-i.). These documents should refer to the years following I.Z. 6. ARET 1 2 + 4 23 registers, besides the š.-i. for Luban, another 28 š.-i. kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} (2 of these were Igium and Šatilu), sections (13)–(14). In TM.75.G.1744, Ilzi of Iram-malik was š.-i. for the á-nígin ^dNI-da-KUL Lu-ba-an^{ki}, rev. VI 7–14; Suma-i(l) and Waḥizu brought meat for the same á-nígin ^dNI-da-KUL Lu-ba-an^{ki}, rev. VII 24–31.

19. As it is instead the case for the nar-nar 'musicians' (ARES 1 271–84) or the pa₄-šeš 'valets' (A. Archi, VO 10 [1996] 37–71).

20. On níg-AN.AN.AN.AN 'news', see W. Sallaberger (forthcoming).

It seems, however, that ARET 1 4 ([XIIth month]; 12 š.-i.) must be dated to I.Z. 9 (// AAM TM.75.G.2508); it should, therefore, follow ARET 1 3 directly, although its list does not begin with Azi. Some new š.-i. appear in this document—e.g., Agušum and Dubušu-Hadda (the latter being the son of the minister Ibbi-Zikir), who are also listed in TM.75.G.2247 (XIIth month; 7 š.-i.), a text that should be dated to I.Z. 12 (// AAM TM.75.G.2507). TM.75.G.2372 (XIIth month; 9 š.-i.) as well as ARET 8 521 (XIIth month; 12 š.-i.), ARET 8 541 (XIIth month; 9 š.-i.), and TM.75.G.1729 (XIIth month; 9 š.-i.) have a š.-i. list that begins with Adaša of Dubi-Zikir, of the town of Ukul, who appears in a lower position in some of the preceding texts. These documents concern, therefore, the last years of Ibbi-Zikir.

3.2. In the same month, another cultic journey in honor of NIdabal sometimes took place, this time to Arugadu. It is attested for very few years, generally in the same documents that open with a list of the š.-i. who went to Luban. TM.75.G.1389 (I.Z.) has the names of the 10 š.-i. for Arugadu on the reverse (the same number as those for Luban), as well as TM.75.G.1744 (I.Z.), where there are 9 or 10 š.-i. (one name seems to have been forgotten), while there are 8 headed for Luban. The š.-i. going to Arugadu are not those going to Luban.

3.3. Instead of šu-mu-nígin ‘journey’, sometimes á-nígin appears, a term that must have a similar meaning, although its Eblaite gloss is not related to the gloss given to šu-mu-nígin.²¹ TM.75.G.1830 lists 10 š.-i. for the á-nígin of NIdabal of Arugadu.²² In TM.75.G.1744 (as noted above), Ilzi of Iram-malik, who was š.-i. for the šu-mu-nígin of NIdabal of Luban, receives a supplementary gift because of the á-nígin of the same god, and garments are given to Suma-i(l) and Wahizu, who brought meat for the same á-nígin (the usual formulation is *in* šu-mu-nígin; see below). According to ARET 4 5 (35), the same Suma-i(l) brought the news that Kundaban, who appears in section (1) among the š.-i. for the šu-mu-nígin of NIdabal of Luban, was present at the á-nígin of the same god.²³

3.4. Two of the š.-i. on the cultic journey to Luban were also in charge of offerings to the dyad Aga, nídba 2 ^dA-gúm, ^dA-ga (dual), which also occurred in month XII.²⁴

4. On the occasion of the journey to Luban, meat was provided from the palace: PN SA.ZA_x^{ki} šu-mu-“tag₄” uzu áš-du ^dNI-da-bal (Lu-ba-an^{ki}) ‘(garments to) PN,

21. LL. no. 546 has á-nígin = NI-^ta¹-[d]u (source C), [x-x]-du (source D).

22. A long list of š.-i. for the á-nígin of this god also appears in ARET 3 457.

23. Šu-mu-nígin also qualifies tibia ‘chisel (?)’ (ARET 2 54 I 3); therefore, ‘thick chisel (?)’, in opposition to tibia SAL; see A. Archi, in *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament: Festschrift für Wolfram von Soden* (ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1995) 8–9; for the meaning ‘chisel’, see H. Waetzoldt, *NABU* (1995) 117. TM.75.G.10074 rev. XXIII 16–17 has á-nígin instead: 1 tibia á-nígin 20 (gín) 1 tibia SAL 20 (gín), which reinforces the parallelism between á-nígin and šu-mu-nígin.

24. In TM.75.G.2247 there are 3 š.-i.. See index 2.

who brought the meat for ^dN. (of Luban)'. There are no further specifications relating to the consumption of this meat. Its delivery was entrusted first to *A-da-ma* 'of the palace' SA.ZA_x^{ki}, when Ibrium was already minister. Adama was succeeded after a few years by his son *Su-ma-ì*, with whom a certain *Wa-ḥi-zu(-um)/zú* was often associated. In a few cases this delivery was entrusted to other people.²⁵

5. For their participation in the cultic actions, the š.-i. received garments as a gift. Other garments and different kinds of goods were 'acquired' níg-sa₁₀, particularly for the celebrations for Rasap, his consort Adamma/Adamtu, and the goddess Išḫara²⁶ at Adani(tu), an important cult center, at which the š.-i. were present. These goods were probably to be distributed to the people who took part in those rites.²⁷

The following passages are quoted from the annual accounts of deliveries of precious metals (AAMs), here listed according to the chronological order in the sequence of the ministers.²⁸

TM.75.G.1872 (Arr. 1) obv. IX 11–X 1: 2 ma-na babbar₆ :kù níg-sa₁₀ 93 íb-III-gùn-TÚG lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib 'À-da-ni^{ki} '2 minas of silver to acquire 93 kilts, acquisition for the š.-i (in) Adani'.

TM.75.G.3052 (ARET 3 41)+ (Ib. 1a) obv. IV 16–VI 1: 4 ma-na šú+ša 3 gín DI[LMUN babbar :kù] níg-sa₁₀ 33 aktum-TÚG 14 'à-da-um-TÚG-I 40 lá-2 íb+III-TÚG-gùn [] *Ib-lu₅-zú wa I-za-iš-ru₁₂ lú-kar Ma-nu-wa-ad^{ki}* lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib 'À-da-ni^{ki} '4 minas 23 shekels silver to acquire garments . . . [] PN₁ PN₂, the merchants of M., acquisitions (for) the š.-i. (in) Adani'.

TM.75.G.1705 (Ib. 1b) rev. IX 7–X 1: 2 ma-na ša-pi 4 gín DILMUN bar₆ :kù níg-sa₁₀ 15 'à-da-um-TÚG 1 *mi-at* 4 íb+III-gùn-TÚG 1 m[a-]na 10 [gín DILMUN bar₆ :kù] níg-sa₁₀ 1 BAR.AN šú+ša gín DILMUN [ba]_r₆ :k[ù] níg-sa₁₀ GIŠ-ti-ḪAR *Wa-ba-rúm* šu-ba₄-ti lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib 'À-da-ni^{ki} '2 minas 44 shekels silver to acquire garments . . . ; 1 mina 10 shekels to acquire one mule; 20 shekels silver to acquire javelin points; Wabarum has received; acquisitions (for) the š.-i. (in) Adani'.

TM.75.G.10143+ (Ib. 11) obv. V 9–VI 5: 7 ma-na tar 4 gín DILMUN bar₆ :kù níg-sa₁₀ 60 lá-2 íb-III-TÚG-sa₆-gùn 30 íb-III-gùn-TÚG 2 *mi-at* 45 "KIN"

25. See A. Archi, in *Cinquante-deux reflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommage à Léon de Meyer* (ed. H. Gasche; Leuven, 1994) 323–25.

26. For Adani(tu), see *ARES* 2 124–28. See also the fragmentary cult calendar (?) TM.75.G.12297 obv. III 1'-6':] in 7 ud gibil šeš-II-ib 'À-da-ni^{ki} in [u]d še[š-II-ib(?)]-sù.

27. See the three documents quoted in index 1: ARET 3 338: '2 minas of silver (in order) to acquire (níg-sa₁₀) 97 kilts in the market (lam₇ :ki) (for) the š.-i.'; TM.75.G.1777: 'wool (in order) to acquire (níg-sa₁₀) in the market (lam₇ :ki) (for) the š.-i.—PN, dependent of the queen, has received'; TM.75.G.1781 (MEE 7 50) rev. X 5–9: (wool) níg-sa₁₀-níg-sa₁₀ lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib 'wool (in order) to acquire (níg-sa₁₀) in the market (lam₇ :ki) (for) the š.-i'.

28. On lam₇ :ki as a writing for gaba (KILAM), see G. Conti, in *Miscellanea eblaitica* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; Florence, 1997) 4.59–60 n. 139. This term has usually been transliterated *is₁₁-ki* and considered a preposition.

siki *Ma-rí*^{ki} 5 ma-na tar 3 gín DILMUN bar₆ :kù níg-sa₁₀ 20 gud 1 ma-na bar₆ :kù níg-sa₁₀ GIŠ-ti-ĤAR *Wa-ba-rúm* šu-ba₄-ti lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib *wa* ^dA-da-ma ^Àda-ni^{ki} ‘7 minas 4 shekels silver to acquire 58 + 30 kilts (and) 245 measures of wool from Mari; 5 minas 33 shekels silver to acquire 20 oxen; 1 mina silver to acquire javelin points; Wabarum has received; acquisitions (for) the š.-i. and Adamma of Adani’.

TM.75.G.1464 (Ib. 13) obv. II 23–28: (objects) ^dNI-da-“bal” [lam₇ :]ki en ì-na-sum *in* ud šeš-II-ib ‘objects (for) NIdabal: acquisitions (that) the king gave when (he was) a š.-i. / when the š.-i. (performed the rites)’.

obv. VII 1ff.: 10 ma-na sa-pi 2 gín DILMUN babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 ^àda-um-TÚG-II 2 zara₆-TÚG 30 gada-TÚG 16 mí-TÚG 5 gíd-TÚG 20 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-^lgùn¹ 1 *mi-at* 46 íb+III-TÚG-gùn 3 *mi-at* 85 “KIN” siki *Ma-rí*^{ki} 2 ma-na bar₆ :kù níg-sa₁₀ GIŠ-ti-ĤAR *Wa-ba-rúm* šu-ba₄-ti lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib *wa* ^dA-da-ma ^Àda-ni^{ki} ‘10 minas 2 shekels silver to acquire garments . . . ; 385 measures of wool from Mari; 2 minas silver to acquire javelin points; Wabarum has received; acquisitions (for) the š.-i. and Adamma of Adani’.

TM.75.G.2365 (Ib. 14) obv. III 21–IV 8: 1 ma-na šú+ša 5 gín DILMUN babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 *mi-at* 70 siki na₄ *Ma-rí*^{ki} tar babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ GIŠ-ti-ĤAR BE.UŠUM.LU_x šu-ba₄-ti lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib ^Àda-ni^{ki} ‘1 mina 25 shekels silver to acquire 170 measures of wool from Mari; 30 shekels silver to acquire javelin points; BE.UŠUM.LU_x has received; acquisitions (for) the š.-i. (in) Adani’.

TM.75.G.2462 (I.Z. 2) obv. II 28–33: 15 babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ GIŠ-SAL lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib *Wa-ba-rúm* šu-ba₄-ti ‘15 shekels to acquire . . . ; acquisition (for) the š.-i.; Wabarum has received’.

Indexes²⁹

Index 1. *The Names of the šeš-II-ib*

A-a-i-lu lú *Zú-ni-a*: Ibr. (75.2456: *in ir-me*)

A-ba lú *Bù-ti*: I.Z. (75.1216: *in A-da-bí-gú*^{ki} lú *igi-ḥi-du*₈)

A-ba-ga: Ibr. (75.2443: k.)

A-bí-za-mu lú *Áš-ša-ti-ga*: I.Z. (75.1675: k.)

A-bur-da-ši-in (75.4487)

A-du-lum lú *Ib-ga-ì*: I.Z. (75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

A-gú-šum maškim *I-bí-zi-kir*: I.Z. (A 3 459: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.

Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1943: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

A-gú-šum: I.Z. (A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 3 457: á-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki};

75.2242: *ir-mi*; 75.2444: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}, *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du; 75.2247:

š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.10121: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

29. Additional abbreviations: A = ARET; 75. = TM.75.G.

á-n. = á-nígin; k. = keš-da; š.-m.-n. = šu-mu-nígin; ^dNI. = ^dNI-da-bal; “bal” = KUL; lam₇ = iš₁₁.

- A-mu-rí* dumu-nita EN-gi-sa Ni-NE-du^{ki}: Ibr. (75.2252: k. *in* nídba ^dTi-mu-ud)
A-mur-da-mu lú Iš-má-da-mu: I.Z. (75.2511: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
A-mur-da-mu: I.Z. (A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
A-NE-sa: I.Z. (75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
^ʾÀ-bí lú *Da-da-il*: Ibr. (75.1344: *in* ud ^dTi-mu-ud)
^ʾÀ-da-ša lú *A-ti*: I.Z. (A 3 105: ùsan ^dKu-ra; A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1729: ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1894: k. SAZA_x^{ki}; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.5423: *ir-mi*)
^ʾÀ-da-ša lú *Du-bí-zi-kir*: I.Z. (A 3 459: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2353: *in* nídba ^dTi-mu-du; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.10191: *in* nídba ^dŠa-ma-gan; 75.10196: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
^ʾÀ-da-ša lú *Ìr-am₆-da-mu*: I.Z. (A 4 7: dag_x ^dŠÁRA en; MEE 2 40: dag_x ^dŠÁRA en; 75.1442: dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra en)
^ʾÀ-da-ša lú *Iš-má-da-mu*: I.Z. (A 8 529: mè 2 na₄ en)
^ʾÀ-da-ša *Ar-ra*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2623: k.)
^ʾÀ-da-ša *Gal-tum*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2401: k. *in* ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} ì-ti *si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)
^ʾÀ-da-ša NI-za-ar^{ki}: I.Z. (A 4 21: k.)
^ʾÀ-da-ša Ò-(la-)kul^{ki}: I.Z. (A 1 5: *ir-mi*; A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1729: [-la-] ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
^ʾÀ-da-ša: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}, 2 ^dA-gu; A 1 7:] ^dNI. ^ʾÀ-ma-du^{ki}; 75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2242: *ir-mi*; 75.2247: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2247: *in* nídba 2 ^dA-gúm: 75.2335: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2640: *in* ùsan(?) ^dKu-ra; 75.10185)
^ʾÀ-da-šè lú *Ga-ba-am₆/mu*: I.Z. (A 1 13: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba ^dUtu / ^dKu-ra; A 3 36: *ir-mi*; A 4 7: k. *in* ud nídba ^dTi-(mu-)du; A 4 18: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; MEE 2 39: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
^ʾÀ-da-šè: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 1 6: *ir-mi*; A 1 10: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 1 16: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 4 18: k. (SA.ZA_x^{ki}); A 4 20: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; MEE 2 39: k. *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1775: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2401: nídba ^dRa-sa-ap Du-ne-íb^{ki}; 75.2401: k. *in* ud nídba ^dNI. ^ʾÀ-ma-du^{ki}; 75.2401: k. *in* ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} ì-ti *si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄; 75.2444: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du; 75.5638: k.)
^ʾÀ-daš(-šè) lú *En-na-ì*: I.Z. (75.1558: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1890: [-šè] k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.4465: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
^ʾÀ-daš(-še): I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 3 457: á.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 3 458 [-še]: *ir-me*; A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1588: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
^ʾÀ-gi (75.5638: k.)
^ʾÀ-LUM lú *Ìr-kab-ar*: I.Z. (75.1731: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
^ʾÀ-mi-šum lú *Iš-má-da-ba-an*: I.Z. (A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 8 523: *in ir-mi*; A 8 527; 75.1216)

- ²À-mi-šum: I.Z. (A 8 524: k.)
²À-mi-zu: I.Z. (A 8 533: k.)
²À-šè: dumu-nita ṽIš₁₁¹-da-mu: I.Z. (75.1754: k. GIŠ-ti)
²À-zi lú Lá-a-LUM: I.Z. (A 1 1; A 1 6: *ir-mi*; A 1 8; A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 3 458: *ir-me*; A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 18: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 4 22: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 4 24: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; MEE 2 39: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1962; 75.10140: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba[; 75.10183: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
²À-zi: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, nídba 2 ^dA-gúm; A 1 10: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 3 457: *in* ud 2 ^dA-gúm; A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 4 18: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; MEE 2 39 k. *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1775: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2242: *ir-mi*; 75.2247: *in* nídba ^dA-gúm; 75.2460: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
²À-zi lú Zú-mu-na: I.Z. (75.2504: k.)
Ab-ba: I.Z. (75.10082)
Am₆-mu-rí lú *Du-bí-zi-kir*: Ibr. (75.1884: *in* ud nídba ^dUtu SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Ar-si-a-ḫa lú NI-lum-bal: I.Z. (75.2524: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Ar-si-a-ḫa / *Ar-si-aḫ* lú *In-na-ad* / *Ì-na-ad*: Ibr. (MEE 2 25; 75.2633)
Ar-si-a-ḫa / *Ar-si-aḫ*: Ibr. (A 1 12; A 3 137; 75.1351; 75.1262; 75.1298: *In-na-at* a-mu A.; 75.1776: ^dNI.)
Áš-ba-il: Ar. (75.10146 (k.) SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Ba-ga[-ma]: I.Z. (75.10248: *Me-tù*^{ki})
Ba-za-a lú *Du-bí*: I.Z. (75.1216: *in* A-da-bí-gú^{ki} lú igi-ḫi-du₈; 75.2504: *in* nídba ^dTi-mu-du)
Bar-zi lú A-KA-LUM: Ibr. (A 1 11; MEE 2 25; 75.1317)
Bar-zi lú *Za-ḫa-a*: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
BÍL: Ar. (75.10146: (k.) SA.ZA_x^{ki})
BÍL-ma-lik lú *Ba-ḫa-ga*: Ibr. (75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
BÍL-ma-lik: Ibr. (75.1837: *ir-me*)
BÍL-za-ì lú ²À-bí: I.Z. (75.1216: *in* A-da-bí-gú^{ki} lú igi-ḫi-du₈)
Bù-da-ì lú EN-ga-ud: I.Z. (75.2499: k. *in* NE-a-ù^{ki})
Bù-da-ì lú Gaba-da-mu: I.Z. (75.1216: *in* A-da-bí-gú^{ki} lú igi-ḫi-du₈)
Bù-da-ì lú *Ti-la-ì*: I.Z. (A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
Bù-da-ma-lik: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
Bù-ga-nu/núm lú *Du-bí-zi-kir*: I.Z. (A 1 5: *ir-mi*; A 3 105: ùsan ^dKu-ra; A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 8 527; A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1729: ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.10191: *in* nídba ^dŠa-ma-gan)
Bù-ga-nu/núm: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 3 457: á-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2247: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.10082)
Bù-gú-nu (A 3 508)

Bù-ma-ù (75.5451)

Bù-wa: I.Z. (75.1680)

Bù-zi lú A-bí-za-mu: I.Z. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})

Bù-zi: I.Z. (A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 3 457: á-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})

Da-ti maškim *A-ag*: Ibr. (75.1935)

Da-zi-ma-ad lú En-na-ì nimgir: I.Z. (75.2356: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Da-zi-ma-ad lú Mar-LUM: I.Z. (75.10139: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Da-zi-ma-lik: I.Z. (75.1675: k.)

Dab₆-da-ar lú Gaba-da-mu: I.Z. (A 3 458: *ir-me*; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2524: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})

Dab₆-da-ar: I.Z. (A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.

Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.

Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2401: k. *in* ud nídba ^dNI.

^ʾ*À-ma-du*^{ki}, k. *in* ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} *ì-ti si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄; 75.2511:

š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.10185: *in* *Da₅-nu-gú*^{ki})

Dab₆-da-ar: Ibr. (75.1870: *À-da-NI*^{ki})

Dal-da-kam₄ lú Du-bí-zi-kir: I.Z. (75.10044: k. SA.ZA_x)

Daš-na: Ibr. (75.1837: *ir-me*)

Daš-ne Áb-šu^{ki}: Ibr. (A 3 508; 75.1875: ^ʾ*À-da-NI*^{ki})

Daš-ne: Ibr. (75.1797: k.)

Daš-ni lú-kar: Ibr. (A 1 17: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Du-bí lú Du-bù-kam₄ (75.5240: *in* ud níba [])

Du-bí lú I-ti-ga-mi-iš: Ibr. (MEE 2 25; 75.1326: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Du-bí lú Za-ḥa-(li/NI)-a: I.Z. (A 1 13: [-NI-] k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba ^dUtu/^dKu-ra; A 3 36: [-li-] *ir-mi*; A 4 7: [-li-] k. *in* ud nídba ^d*Ti-(mu-)ud*; A 4 24: [-li-] k.

SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.10196: [-li-] k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Du-bí lú Zé-kam₄: I.Z. (75.1356: k., nídba ^d*Ti-mu-ud*; 75.1765: k. *in* NE-a-ù^{ki} *šu-ba₄-ti*)

Du-bí: Ibr. (^d*Ga-mi-iš*: 75.1417)

Du-bí: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, nídba ^dA-gúm; A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, 2 ^dA-gú; A 1 6: *ir-mi*; A 3 457: á-n. ^dNI.

Lu-ba-an^{ki}, *in* ud 2 ^dA-gúm; A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 4 20: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1729:

^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}; 75.1895: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki};

75.2460: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2640: *in* ùsan ^dKu-ra; 75.5451; 75.5472: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.;

75.10278: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Du-bí-ab lú-kar: Ibr. (A 1 14: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Du-bí-ab lú NE-a-ù^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2623: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki})

Du-bí-ab Ša-nu-ru₁₂-gú^{ki} (75.5484: k.)

Du-bí-šum lú A-zú-ma (/EN-zú-ma/mu): I.Z. (A 3 458: [EN-zú-ma] *ir-me*; A 4 4: [EN-zú-mu] *in* ^ʾ*À-da-ni*^{ki}; A 4 19: [EN-zú-mu] k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1962)

Du-bí-šum lú En-na-ì (di-kud): I.Z. (75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1894: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2329: dag_x 2 na₄ en)

Du-bí-šum lú Háb-ra-ar: I.Z. (MEE 2 40: dag_x ^dŠÁRA en; 75.1943: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

- Du-bí-šum* lú NI-gul: Ibr. (75.1772: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Du-bí-šum: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.2281: *ir-me*; 75.5451)
Du-bí-zi-kir lú A-da-gàr: I.Z. (A 4 3: k. in A-a-du^{ki})
Du-bí-zi-kir lú En-na-ni-il: I.Z. (75.1894)
Du-bí-zi-kir lú Na-zu-mu: I.Z. (75.1895: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Du-bí-zi-kir lú Rí-ga-gu: I.Z. (75.10072: k. in ud nídba ^dKu-ra in Ba-lu-du^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti)
Du-bí-zi-kir SA.ZA_x^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2401: k. in ud nídba ^dNI. ^ʾÀ-ma-du^{ki})
Du-bù-ḥu-^dÀ-da: I.Z. (A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1894: in U₉-ne-gú^{ki}; 75.1896: in Da-rí-nu^{ki}; 75.2245: in Ba-nu^{ki}, in Ti-iš-da-gú^{ki}; 75.2247: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2247: in nídba 2 ^dA-gúm)
Du-bù-ḥu-ma-lik lú A-rí-ga: I.Z. (75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Du-bù(bí)-ḥu-ma-lik lú NI-a-BAD: I.Z. (A 1 10: k. in A-rí-gú^{ki}; A 4 8: k. in ḤAR-ba-du^{ki}; MEE 2 39: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1356: k., nídba ^dTi-mu-ud; 75.1934: [NI-BAD] k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} in u₄ nídba ^dKu-ra; 75.2493+2495: k. in Sá-du-úr^{ki}; 75.2522: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídba ^dŠa-ma-gan; 75.5240: [-bí- NI-BAD] in ud nídba []; 75.10140: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídba [])
Du-ur-NI lú A-du-u₉-a: I.Z. (A 4 19: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Du-ur-NI: I.Z. (A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2352: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- EN-da-za lú EN-ŠID: Ibr. (75.1776: ^dNI.)
 EN-da-za lú Maš-bar-rá^{ki}: Ibr. (MEE 2 25)
 EN-da-za: Ibr. (75.1407)
- EN-ga-da-ba-an lú Iš₁₁-gi-da-ar: Ibr. (75.1317; 75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2633; cf. A 3 31)
 EN-ga-da-ba-an: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)
 En-na-BAD lú Û-ba-an: I.Z. (75.2623: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
 En-na-ì maškim Ir-ti: I.Z. (75.2401: k. in ud en Du-ub^{ki} ì-ti si-in níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)
 En-na-il lú EN-ga-ud: I.Z. (A 4 19: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2524: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.5138+: k.)
 En-na-i/il dumu-nita/lú EN-mar: Ibr. (A 3 811; 75.1760: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2374: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.2524: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2526);
 En-na-ì lú EN-mar: I.Z. (A 1 8; A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2511: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
 En-na-ì lú I-ti-ì: I.Z. (75.2623: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.10185: in Da₅-nu-gú^{ki})
 En-na-ì lú Mi-ga-ì: I.Z. (A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2511: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2524: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.5135)
 En-na-ì lú Ra-i-zu: I.Z. (75.10121: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
 En-na-il/ì lú Ša-ù-um: Ibr. (MEE 2 25; 75.1351; 75.1783; 75.2466); v. En-na-ni-il lú Š.
 En-na-ì Gu-na-ù^{ki}: I.Z. (A 4 4: in ^ʾÀ-da-ni^{ki})
 En-na-il: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.1761: in *ir-me*; 75.10078)
 En-na-ì: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2499: k. in NE-a-ù^{ki})
 En-na-ma-gú lú Puzur₄-ra (dam-gàr): I.Z. (75.2504: dam-gàr . . . k. ^dŠa-ma-gan; 75.10183: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

- En-na-ma-gú*: I.Z. (A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 1 6: *ir-mi*; A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- En-na-ma-lik* lú AN-*ḥa-du*: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki})
- En-na-ma-lik* lú *Puzur*₄-*ra* dam-gàr: I.Z. (75.1588: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- En-na-ma-lik* lú SAZA_x^{ki}: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, k. *ká-ká in* SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1943: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- En-na-ma-lik* []: Ibr. (75.1417: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- En-na-ni-il* lú *I-bí-zi-im*: Ibr. (75.1884: *in* ud nídba ^dUtu SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- En-na-ni-il* lú *Rí-ì-ma-lik*: Ibr. (75.10155)
- En-na-ni-il* lú *Ša-ù-um*: Ibr. (75.1407; 75.1706; 75.1776: ^dNI.; 75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2633); v. *En-na-il* lú *š*.
- EN-*ti* *dumu-nita*/lú *I-bí-zi-kir*: I.Z. (A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ga-du-um* *dumu-nita en*: I.Z. (A 8 541 obv. VII 11–16: nídba ^dA-*gú*)
- Ga-du-um*: I.Z. (75.2401: k. *in* ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} *ì-ti si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)
- Gaba-da-mu*: Ibr. (75.1417: SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Gú-ba-lum* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir*: I.Z. (75.2330: k. *in* A-*nu*^{ki}; 75.2588: sag 2 na₄ en)
- Ḥa-ra-il*: Ibr. (75.1701: ^ʾÀ-*da-ni*^{ki})
- Ḥáb-ra-ar* lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu*: Ibr. (A 1 14: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1324: k. *in* ^ʾÀ-*za-an*^{ki}; 75.1407; 75.1837: ^dEN.ZU *wa* ^dBa-*li-ḥa*)
- Ḥar-ḥu-lu* lú *I-da-ni-ki-mu*: I.Z. (75.2330: k. *in* A-*nu*^{ki})
- Ḥi-la-ì* lú A-*ma-za* (A 3 203)
- Ḥu-ma-ra*: Ibr. (A 1 17: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1708: ^dEn-*ki*; 75.1797: k.; 75.1935)
- I-bí-iš-li-im* lú *En-na-ì*: I.Z. (75.2623: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki})
- I-ba-iš-li-im*: I.Z. (75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki})
- I-bí-zi-kir* *dumu-nita* *Ib-rí-um*: Ibr. (A 3 599; 75.1524; 75.1742: *in* *Lu-ub*^{ki}; 75.1760: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2233: *in* *Dur-NE-du*^{ki}; 75.2374: *in* š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.2456; 75.2526: *in* *ir-me*; 75.10078; 75.10155: *in* *Zi-ti-ig*^{ki})
- I-bí-zi-kir*: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)
- I-bí-zi-mu* (A 3 265)
- I-dè-ni-ki-mu* lú BÍL-*ma-lik*: I.Z. (A 4 4: k. dag_x ^dŠÁRA-*ra en*; 75.1356: dag_x ^dŠÁRA-*ra en*; 75.1775: k. *in* *Úr-lu*^{ki})
- I-gi-um* lú *ká Bar-za-ma-ù*: I.Z. (A 1 2: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- I-in-NI* A-*ša-lu-gú*^{ki} (A 3 203)
- I-ni-lum* *Mu-si-lu*^{ki}: I.Z. (A 8 523: k.)
- I-rí-da-mu*: Ibr. (75.1870: ^ʾÀ-*da-NI*^{ki})
- I-rí-ig/gu* lú *Sá-gú-šum*: Ibr. (A 4 13: k. *šu-du*₈ *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2456: *in* *ir-me*)
- I-rí-gu/ig*: Ibr. (75.1742: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)
- I-rí-ig-ma-lik* lú *Ib-te-ma-lik*: I.Z. (A 4 6: k.)
- I-si-rúm* lú *En-na-il*: Ibr. (75.1337: lú *dumu-nita* AN.AN.AN k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1772: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

- I-si-rúm* dumu-nita/lú *Ib-gú-nu* (ne-di): Ibr. (75.1351 [ne-di]; 75.1772: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1776: [ne-di] ^dNI.; 75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2633)
- I-si-lum* lú *In-gàr*: I.Z. (75.1216: in *A-da-bí-gú*^{ki} lú *igi-ḫi-du*_g)
- I-šar*: I.Z. (75.10185)
- I-ti*^d*Aš-dar* lú *En-na-ni-il/ì*: I.Z. (A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 1 5: *ir-mi*; A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 8 523: in *ir-mi*; A 8 527; A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1729: ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- I-ti*^d*Aš-dar*: I.Z. (A 1 7:] ^dNI. ^ʔ*À-ma-du*^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki}; 75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki}; 75.2247: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- I-ti*^dNI-*da*-“*bal*” *Sa-mu-du*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2401: k. in ud níd_{ba} ^dNI. ^ʔ*À-ma-du*^{ki})
- I-ti-da-mu* lú *Sal-m[a-ḫir]*: Ibr. (75.2450: in ud níd_{ba} ^d*Ti-mu-du*)
- I-ti-da-mu* lú *Zàr-BAD*: Ibr. (75.2239: k. níd_{ba} ^d*Ti-mu-ud*)
- I-ti-lum* lú *Zú-za* (75.4465)
- I-ti-lum*: I.Z. (A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- I-ti-NE* lú *En-na-ì*: I.Z. (75.2352: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Ib-dar-da-ar*: Ibr. (75.2443: k.)
- Ib-du-ì* *Á-lu*^{ki}: I.Z. (A 8 523: in *ir-mi*; A 8 524: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 8 527; 75.1216: in *A-da-bí-gú*^{ki} lú *igi-ḫi-du*_g; 75.1729: ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2353: in níd_{ba} ^d*Ti-mu-du*; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ib-du-ì* *Sa-mu-du*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2401: k. in ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} *ì-ti si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)
- Ib-du-ì*: I.Z. (A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 8 533: k.; A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2401: k. in ud níd_{ba} ^dNI. ^ʔ*À-ma-du*^{ki})
- Ib-du*-^d*Ku-ra* lú níd_{ba} *ì-giš*: Ibr.(75.2374: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)
- Ib-dur*-^d*Ku-ra* lú níd_{ba} *ì-giš*: I.Z. (75.2524: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ib-dur*-^d*À-da*: I.Z. (75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki})
- Ib-dur-i-šar* lú *Kam*₄-*da-mu*: I.Z. (75.2524: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ib-dur-i-šar*: I.Z. (A 1 8; A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2281: *ir-me*; 75.2511: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ib-dur*-*Kur*^{ki} SA.ZA_x^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2401: k. in ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} *ì-ti si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)
- Ib-dur-ša-mi-ir* dumu-nita EN-*gi-sa* NI-NE-*du*^{ki}: Ibr. (75.2252: k. in níd_{ba} ^d*Ti-mu-ud*)
- Ib-gi-da-mu* lú *I-az-ma-lik*: I.Z. (A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ib-gi-da-mu* maškim *Ki-ti-ir*: I.Z. (75.2401: k. in ud níd_{ba} ^dNI. ^ʔ*À-ma-du*^{ki})
- Ib-gi-da-mu* lú *ká Ki-ti-ir*: I.Z. (A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ib-gi-da-mu*: I.Z. (75.1729: ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.10019: k. in *Da-ra-um*^{ki}; 75.10185)
- Ib-gú-nu*: Ibr. (75.1407)
- Ib-ḫur*-^d*À-da*: Ibr. (75.1777: k. in níd_{ba} [])
- Ib-ḫur*-^d*À-da*: I.Z. (A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 20: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Ib-u₉-mu-ud* *Da-rí-bù*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-*ga-du*^{ki})
- Ib-u₉-mu-du* SA.ZA_x^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2401: in ud níd_{ba} ^d*Á-la*)

- Ib-u₉-mu-du/ud*: I.Z. (75.1680; 75.1895: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2401: k. *in* ud nídba ^dNI.
^ʔÀ-ma-du^{ki}, k. *in* ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} ì-ti *si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)
- Ig-rí-su*: Arr. (75.1873)
- (*Il-ti*: see below, *Ir-ti*)
- Íl-ba-gú-nu* lú *Ga-ba-nu*: I.Z. (75.2352: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}, *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du)
- Íl-ba-gú-nu* lú *Mu-gú*: Ibr. (75.1777: k. *in* nídba []);
- Íl-ba-gú-nu* lú *Mu-gú*: I.Z. (A 4 22: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1890: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1934: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* u₄ nídba ^dKu-ra; 75.2352: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2499: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.4153: k. [SA.ZA_x^{ki}]; 75.4465; 75.10139: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Íl-ba-gú-nu*: I.Z. (A 1 8; A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Íl-ba-í A-ru*₁₂-lu^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2401: k. *in* ud nídba ^dNI. ^ʔÀ-ma-du^{ki})
- Íl-ba-um*: I.Z. (75.2499: k. *in* A-rí-gú^{ki})
- Íl-da-kas* lú *Ru*₁₂-zú-wa-aš: Ibr. (75.1772: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}); cf. [] lú *Ru*₁₂-zú-wa-aš: I.Z. (75.2250: dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra)
- Íl-e-i-šar* lú *En-na-ma-lik*: I.Z. (75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2401: k. *in* ud nídba ^dNI. ^ʔÀ-ma-du^{ki})
- Íl-e-i-šar*: I.Z. (A 1 7:] ^dNI ^ʔÀ-ma-du^{ki}; 75.2335: k. SA.ZA_x; 75.2401: nídba ^dRa-sa-ap *Du-ne-ib*^{ki}; 75.2401: k. *in* ud en *Du-ub*^{ki} ì-ti *si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)
- Íl-zi* lú *En-na-BAD*: Ibr. (75.2450: *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du)
- Íl-zi* lú *En-na-i di-kud*: Ibr. (75.1776: ^dNI.; 75.1797)
- Íl-zi* lú *En-na-(ni-)-il/î*: Ibr. (MEE 2 25; 75.1317; 75.1407 [-ni-]; 75.1837: ^dA-ga; 75.2633 [-ni-])
- Íl-zi* lú *Îr-am*₆-ma-lik (lú ^ʔA₅-a-bù-du^{ki}) I.Z. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.5053: k.)
- Íl-zi* lú *Iš*₁₁-gú-nu: Ibr. (75.1834: k. *in* ud NE-sag *Ib-rí-um*; 75.1837: *ir-me*; 75.5484: k.)
- Íl-zi*: Ibr. (75.1708: ^dEn-ki)
- Íl-zi*: I.Z. (A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 3 508)
- Íl-zi-kam*₄ lú *En-na-BAD A-a-lu*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru*₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
- Íl-zi-kam*₄ (75.5451)
- Íl-zi-li-im*: Ar. (?) (75.1440)
- In-gàr* lú *A-(a)-da-mu*: Ibr. (75.1760: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2374: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.2456; 75.2526: *in ir-me*; 75.10078)
- In-gàr* lú *Iš-má-da-mu*: Ibr. (A 4 13: k. šu-du₈ *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- In-gàr*: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.1761: *in ir-me*)
- In-ma-lik* lú *Zu/Zú-ma-na-an*: I.Z. (A 4 4: k. dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra en; 75.1775: k. *in Úr-lu*^{ki})
- In-ma-lik* lú *Zú-mu-na*: I.Z. (75.2504: k.)
- Ir-NE* lú *Iš*₁₁-gu-mu: Ibr. (75.2248: *ir-mi*)
- Ir-ti* lú *Ib-rí-um*: I.Z. (A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1776: *in Zàr-ra-mi-du*^{ki} š. àga-uš; 75.2352: *in Da-ra-um*^{ki})
- Il-ti* lú *Ĥa-ra-î*: I.Z. (A 4 9: *in Û-ga-ru*₁₂^{ki}; 75.2352: *in Da-ra-um*^{ki})

- Ir-ti*: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}, in *Ar-u₉-gú*^{ki}; A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Il-ti*: I.Z. (A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 18: k.; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ìr-’a-ag-da-mu*: I.Z. (A 8 540)
- Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu*: Ibr. (75.2239: k. nídba ^dTi-mu-ud)
- Ìr(Íl)-ba-šu Á-lu*^{ki}: I.Z. (A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 8 527 [Íl-]; A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1765: k.; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ìr-ba-šu*: I.Z. (75.1729: ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2247: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Ìr-ba-zé*: I.Z. (A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Ìr-NI-ba* lú *Iš₁₁-da-ma*: I.Z. (75.1588: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Ìr-NI-ba NI-rúm*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.2504: k.)
- Ìr-NI-ba UŠ.KI*: Ibr. (75.1326: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2248: *ir-mi*)
- Ìr-NI-ba*: Ibr. (75.1870: Ĭ. ù maškim-sù, k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídba ^dKu-ra)
- Ìr-kab-ar*: I.Z. (75.2623: k.)
- Iš-ba-ì Da₅-ru₁₂*^{ki}: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki})
- Iš-ba-ì*: I.Z. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}; 75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki})
- Iš-la-ì* lú *En-na-ì* (dam-gàr): I.Z. (A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 4 9: dam-gàr š. áš-da ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} in ’À-za-an^{ki})
- Iš-la-ì*: I.Z. (A 1 1; A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki})
- Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú *Iš₁₁-gi-da-ar*: Ibr. (MEE 2 25)
- Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú *Iš-má-da-mu*: Ibr. (MEE 2 25; 75.1317; 75.1407; 75.1776: ^dNI.; 75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2633)
- Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú *Na-am₆-da-mu* (A 3 203)
- Iš-má-da-ba-an Mar-tum*^{ki}: I.Z. (A 8 523: k.)
- Iš-má-da-ba-an*: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)
- Iš-má-da-ba-an*: I.Z. (A 1 2: k. ká-ká in SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki})
- Iš-má-da-mu*: Ar. (75.2249)
- Iš-má-da-mu*: Ibr. (75.2526)
- Iš-má-ma-lik* lú *I-bí-zi-kir*: I.Z. (75.2329: dag_x 2 na₄ en; 75.2623: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki})
- Iš-má-zi-kir* lú *I-bí-šum* (75.5138+: k.)
- Iš₁₁-da-mu* lú *Lá-a-lum*: I.Z. (A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 8 524: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 8 527; 75.1216)
- Iš₁₁-da-mu* lú *Nap-ḥa-ì*: I.Z. (75.2243: k. in *A-te-na-ad*^{ki})
- Iš₁₁-da-mu*: Ibr. (75.2633)
- Iš₁₁-ga/gi-bar-zú* lú *Sá-gú-šum*: Ibr. (75.1760: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; 75.2281: *ir-me*; 75.2374: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.2456: in *ir-me*)
- Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú*: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)

Iš₁₁-ga-um dumu-nita/lú *Iš₁₁-da-mu*: I.Z. (75.1754: k. GIŠ-ti; 75.2649: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Iš₁₁-gi-da-mu lú *Ša-ù-um*: I.Z. (A 4 19: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Kéš-ma-lik: I.Z. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*; 75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI.

A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})

Ki-ti-ir lú *Du-bí*: Ibr. (75.2374: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)

Ki-ti-ir lú *I-da-ni-ki-mu*: I.Z. (75.1731: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2522: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud
 nídba ^dŠa-ma-gan)

Ki-ti-ir: I.Z. (A 1 2: k. ká-ká *in* SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Kùn-da-ba-an lú *Du-bí* (^ʔÀ-da^{ki}) I.Z. (A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.1442:
 dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra en; 75.1729: ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*;
 75.2274: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.5423: *ir-mi*)

Kùn-da-ba-an: I.Z. (A 1 2: k. ká-ká *in* SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 1 3: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.

Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; A 3 457: á.-n. ^dNI.

Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 4 5: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*, *in* á.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; A 4 9:

š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.1389:

š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.2247: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.2511:

š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*)

Kùn-da-ba-an dumu-nita [*Ha*]-ra-ì/il: Ibr. (75.2267: *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.10076)

Kùn-da-ba-an: Ibr. (75.2257)

La-a-iš₁₁ (*liš*)-ru₁₂ lú *Zu*(Zú)-NI-a: Ibr. (A 3 508; 75.1324: k. *in* ^ʔÀ-za-an^{ki}; 75.1329:
 k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

LAM-gi-da-mu lú *Iš-má-da-mu*: I.Z. (75.2511: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*)

Lu-a-ì: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*)

Lu-zu lú *Ig-rí-su*: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*)

Ma-a-bar-zu(/zú) lú *Ìr-ga-bù*: I.Z. (75.2504: k. ^dŠa-ma-gan, *in* nídba ^dTi-mu-du)

Ma-gal: I.Z. (75.10248: *Me-tù^{ki}*)

Má-za-gú lú *Bu-ma-ì* *Gú-ra-ra-KUL^{ki}*: I.Z. (A 4 7: dag_x ^dŠÁRA en; 75.1356: dag_x
^dŠÁRA en)

Mah-rí lú ^rx¹-NE: I.Z. (75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Mar-ga *Sa-mu-du^{ki}*: I.Z. (75.2401: k. *in* ud nídba ^dNI. ^ʔÀ-ma-du^{ki}, *in* ud nídba ^dÁ-la,
 k. *in* ud en *Du-ub^{ki}* ì-ti *si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄)

Na-ga-um lú *A-šum*: I.Z. (75.1588: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Nab-ħa-ì lú *I-rí-ig-da-mu* (75.1216: *in* *A-da-bí-gú^{ki}* lú *igi-ħi-du_g*)

NE-zi-ma-lik *Á-lu^{ki}* maškim *Rí-ti*: I.Z. (75.2504: k.)

NI-a-BAD: I.Z. (75.10185)

NI-ba-NI lú *En-na-ì*: I.Z. (75.2352: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du)

NI-ba-NI: I.Z. (A 1 10: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*;
 75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*)

NI-da-NE lú *Ga-ba-nu*: I.Z. (A 1 10: k. *in* *A-rí-gú^{ki}*)

NI-lum-bal lú *A-bu₁₄-gú-ra*: I.Z. (A 4 4: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

- NI-lum-bal lú *Īr-am₆-a-kēš*: I.Z. (A 4 6: k.)
 NI-lum-bal lú *Īr-am-ma-lik* (75.5057: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
 NI-lum-bal (A 3 466; A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
 NI-NI-ba: I.Z. (A 4 5: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
 NI-ti-aš-dar: I.Z. (75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
 NI-ti-ga-da-mu: I.Z. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
 NI-wa lú *Iš-la-ì*: I.Z. (75.2649: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
 NI-wa: I.Z. (75.10278: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
 NI-za-NI lú *Rí-ì-ma-lik*: I.Z. (75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
 Ni-zi: I.Z. (A 1 2: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 1 4: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
- Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* dumu-nita/lú *Iš₁₁-da-mu*: Ibr. (A 3 119; 75.1351; 75.1407; 75.1776: ^dNI.; 75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1837: ^dRa-sa-ap gu-núm; 75.2374: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.2456: *in ir-me*; 75.2633)
Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.1761: *in ir-me*)
- Ra-i-zú*: Ibr. (75.1337: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Ra-ti-bù: Ibr. (75.1935; 75.4389+: nídba ^dUtu SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Rí-ì-ma-lik: Ibr. (75.1364)
Ru₁₂-zi-da-mu lú *Iš-mah-da-mu*: I.Z. (75.2511: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
Ru₁₂-zi-da-mu: I.Z. (A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
Ru₁₂-zi-li-im lú *I-rí-ig*: Ibr. (A 1 11; A 1 12: U₉-na-gú^{ki}, MEE 2 25)
Ru₁₂-zi-li-im: Ibr. (75.1317; 75.1417: ^dGa-mi-iš, SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *Du-ba-ù*: I.Z. (75.1389: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.5451)
Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik dumu-nita/lú *I-bí-zi-kir*: I.Z. (A 8 525: *in Á-a^{ki}*; A 8 527; A 8 532: *in Lu-ba-an^{ki}* lú š.-m.-n.; A 8 540: *in Ba-nu^{ki} / Za-ra-mi-du^{ki}*; A 8 541: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1216: *in Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; 75.1729 ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.2372: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})
Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *Ib-ga-ì*: I.Z. (75.2356: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *Ra-i-zu/zú*: I.Z. (A 4 21: k.; 75.2588: sag 2 na₄ en)
Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik: I.Z. (A 4 20: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 8 521: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 8 527: *in Mar-tum^{ki}*; A 8 529: mè 2 na₄ en; 75.1225; 75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.1830: á.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.2275: *in* š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}, *in* A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}; 75.2407; 75.2471)
Ru₁₂-zi[-]: Ibr. (75.1935: maškim A-ag)
Ru₁₂-zu-wa-aš lú GIŠ.NU.ŠAR: Ibr. (75.1337: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
- Sag-da-mu Á-lu^{ki}*: I.Z. (75.2623: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
Si-ti lú EN-da-za: I.Z. (75.1216: *in A-da-bí-gú^{ki}* lú igi-ḫi-du₈)
- Ša-ti-lu*: I.Z. (A 1 2: lú ká Bar-za-ma-ù k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})
Šu-ga-LUM: I.Z. (A 3 203: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; A 4 9: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki})

Šu-ì-lum: I.Z. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})
 Šu-ma-lik dumu-nita/lú Iš₁₁-da-mu: Ibr. (A 1 11; 75.1317; 75.1351; 75.1407;
 75.1776: ^dNI.; 75.1783: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}; 75.1834: k. in ud NE-sag
 Ib-rí-um; 75.2633)

Û-ti dumu-nita Ib-rí-um: I.Z. (75.1760: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. Lu-ba-an^{ki}, in Ig-dar^{ki};
 75.2374: in š.-m.-n. ^dNI.)

Û-ti: Ibr. (75.1744: š.-m.-n. ^dNI.; 75.2267: A-rí-gú^{ki}; 75.10076)

U₉-bí-a-nu lú Ig-na-da-ar: I.Z. (75.2623: š.-m.-n. ^dNI. A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki})

Uš-ḥu-lum (75.4465: k. áš-da ^dAš-dar Bir₅-ra-ru₁₂^{ki})

Wa-a-šum: Ibr. (75.1891: in Bù-ra-an^{ki})

Za-zi lú Ìr-da-ma-lik: I.Z. (A 4 8: k. in ḤAR-ba-du^{ki})

Zé-kam₄ lú NI-ga-ma-lik: I.Z. (A 4 3: k. in A-a-du)

Zé-kam₄ lú Za-ḥa-li-a: Ibr. (75.1344: in ud ^dTi-mu-ud)

Zé-ma-lik: Ar. (75.2249: Ga-na-ad^{ki})

Zi-i-šar maškim I-bí-šum: Ibr. (75.1417: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Zi-mi-na-ma-lik lú Ar-si-a-ḥu: I.Z. (75.1763: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

Zú-du lú A-a-ga-um: I.Z. (A 4 4: k. SA.ZA_x^{ki})

]zi-kir: Ibr. (75.1761: in ir-me)

Index 2. Gods for Whose Cult the šeš-II-ib Were Employed and Other Duties of the šeš-II-ib

àga-ús: 75.1777 (cf. 75.2245: in ud àga-ús in šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-bal Lu-ba-an^{ki})

dag_x(LAK-457) 2 na₄ en: A 8 529; 75.2329; 75.2588

2 ^dA-gúm/gú / ^dA-ga: A 1 3 (níd_{ba} 2 ^dA.); A 1 4 (níd_{ba} 2 ^dA.); A 3 457 (in ud 2 ^dA.);

75.1837 (^dA.); 75.2247 (níd_{ba} 2 ^dA.)

^dÁ-la: 75.2401 (in ud níd_{ba})

^dAš-dar Bir₅-ra-ru₁₂^{ki}: 75.4465 (kéš-da áš-da ^dA.)

^dBa-li-ḥa: 75.1837

^dEn-ki: 75.1708

^dGa-mi-iš: 75.1417

^dKu-ra (kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud níd_{ba}): A 1 13; 75.1870; 75.1934; 75.10072

ùsan ^dKu-ra: A 3 105; 75.2640

^dNI-da-bal A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}

á-nígin ^dNI-da-bal A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}: 75.1830

šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-bal A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}: 75.1389; 75.1744; 75.2623

^dNI-da-bal 'À-ma-du^{ki}: A 1 7; A 1 12 (níd_{ba}); 75.2401 (kéš-da in ud níd_{ba})

^dNI-da-bal Lu-ba-an^{ki}: A 4 9 (áš-da ^dN.)

á-nígin ^dNI-da-bal Lu-ba-an^{ki}: A 3 457; A 4 5; 75.1744 (the first passage is fragmentary; in the other two, á-nígin follows šu-mu-nígin)

- šu-mu-nígin^dNI-da-bal Lu-ba-an^{ki}: A 1 2; A 1 3; A 1 4; A 3 203; A 4 5; A 4 9;
 A 8 521; A 8 532; A 8 541; 75.1389; 75.1729 ((šu-mu-nígin)); 75.1742;
 75.1744; 75.1760; 75.1776 ((šu-mu-nígin)); 75.1783; 75.2245; 75.2247;
 75.2275; 75.2372; 75.2374; 75.2511; 75.2524; 75.2633 ((šu-mu-nígin));
 75.5472
- ^dRa-sa-ap Du-ne-éb^{ki}: 75.2401 (nídba)
- ^dRa-sa-ap gú-núm: 75.1837
- ^dSuen: 75.1837
- ^dŠa-ma-gan: 75.1680 (nídba ^dš.); 75.2504 (kéš-da ^dš.); 75.2522 (kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} in
 ud nídba ^dš.); 75.10191 (in nídba ^dš.)
- ^dŠÁRA¹(BARA₁₀)-iš/ra en (kéš-da dag_x[LAK-457]): A 4 4; A 4 7; MEE 2 40;
 75.1356; 75.1442; 75.2250;
- ^dTi-mu-du (kéš-da in ud nídba): A 4 7; MEE 2 39; 75.1344; 75.1356; 75.2239;
 75.2252; 75.2352 (kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}); 75.2353; 75.2444 (kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki});
 75.2450; 75.2504
- ^dUtu (in ud nídba): A 1 13
- ^dUtu SA.ZA_x^{ki} (nídba): 75.1884; 75.4389; 75.4456
- ir-mi/me (in): A 1 5; A 1 6; A 3 36; A 3 458; A 8 523; 75.1761; 75.1797; 75.1837;
 75.2242; 75.2248; 75.2281; 75.2456; 75.5423
- kéš-da: A 1 2 (ká-ká); A 1 10; A 4 3; A 4 6; A 4 8; A 4 13 (k. šu-du_g
 dumu-nita-dumu-nita SA.ZA_x^{ki}); A 4 18; A 4 21; A 8 523; A 8 533; 75.1324;
 75.1416; 75.1675; 75.1754 (GIŠ-ti); 75.1797; 75.1834 (kéš-da in ud NE-sag
 Ib-rí-um); 75.2245 (in NE-sag en wa ma-lik-tum); 75.2330 (in A-nu^{ki}); 75.2401
 (kéš-da in ud nídba ^dNI-da-bal ʾÀ-ma-du^{ki}; in ud en Du-ub^{ki} ì-ti si-in níg-kas₄);
 75.2443; 75.2493+2495; 75.2499; 75.2504; 75.2623; 75.4465 (kéš-da áš-da
^dAš-dar Bir₅-ra-ru₁₂^{ki}); 75.5138+; 75.5240; 75.5484; 75.5638 (see also
^dTi-mu-du); 75.10019 (in Da-ra-um^{ki}); 75.10072 (in ud nídba ^dKu-ra); 75.10185
 kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}: A 1 2; A 1 10; A 1 13 (in ud nídba ^dUtu, ^dKu-ra); A 1 14; A 1 16;
 A 1 17; A 3 459; A 4 4; A 4 5; A 4 18; A 4 19; A 4 20; A 4 22; A 4 24; A 8 524;
 MEE 2 39; 75.1216; 75.1326; 75.1329; 75.1337; 75.1417; 75.1588; 75.1731;
 75.1763; 75.1772; 75.1775; 75.1870 (in ud nídba ^dKu-ra); 75.1890; 75.1894;
 75.1895 (in é simug, in é-siki); 75.1934 (in ud nídba ^dKu-ra); 75.1943; 75.2274;
 75.2335; 75.2352 (in ud nídba ^dTi-mu-ud); 75.2356; 75.2444 (in ud nídba
^dTi-mu-ud); 75.2460; 75.2499; 75.2522 (in ud nídba ^dŠa-ma-gan); 75.2524;
 75.2649; 75.4465; 75.5057; 75.10044; 75.10046; 75.10121; 75.10139; 75.10140
 (in ud nídba []); 75.10183; 75.10196; 75.10278
- NE-sag: 75.1834 (kéš-da in ud N. Ib-rí-um); 75.2245 (N. en wa ma-lik-tum)

Index 3. Places Where the šeš-II-ib Received Gifts (besides the Palace)

- in A-a-du^{ki}: A 4 3
- in A-bí-la-du^{ki}: A 1 7 (šeš-II-ib Ma-nu-wa-ad^{ki})
- in A-da-bí-gú^{ki}: 75.1216
- in A-nu^{ki}: 75.2330
- in A-rí-gú^{ki}: A 1 10; A 3 333; 75.2267; 75.2499

in A-te-na-ad^{ki}: 75.2243
in ^ʾÀ-da-ni^{ki}: A 4 4; 75.1870; 75.1875
in ^ʾÀ-za-an^{ki}: 75.1324
in Ba-lu-du^{ki}: 75.10072
in Da-ra-um^{ki}: 75.2352; 75.10019
in Da₅-nu-gú^{ki}: 75.10185
in Da-rí-nu^{ki}: 75.1896
in Gàr-ga-mi-su^{ki}: 75.1416
in ḪAR-ba-du^{ki}: A 4 8
Lu-ba-an^{ki}: 75.2267
in Me-tù-m^{ki}: 75.10248
in NE-a-u^{ki}: 75.1765; 75.2499
in Sá-du-úr^{ki}: 75.2493+2495
in Úr-lu^{ki}: 75.1775

Index 4. *List of the Passages in Which Names of šeš-II-ib Appear*

- A 1 1 (I.Z.) (47): 4 ^ʾà. 4 a. 4 fb. ^ʾÀ-zi lú Lá-a-LUM Iš-la-i [. . . šeš-II-ib . . .]
 A 1 2 (I.Z.) (11) + A 4 23 (8) + A 1 2 (12): 12 ^ʾà. 12 a. 12 fb. ^ʾÀ-zi Ir-ti ^ʾÀ-da-šē
En-na-ma-lik [] [] *Du-bí* ^ʾÀ-daš ^ʾÀ-da-ša Ni-zi *En-na-i Bù-ga-núm* šeš-II-ib
šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; A 1 2 (13): 2 fb *I-gi-um Ša-ti-lu lú-ká*
Bar-za-ma-ù šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; A 1 2 (14) + A 4 23 (9): 26 fb
Iš-má-da-ba-an [x-]m[u-] [Kù]n-da-ba-an *En-na-ma-lik* SA.ZA_x^{ki} 2 *Bal-ba-an*^{ki}
 2 ^rNu¹-ga-mu^{ki} 2 *Ig-du-lu*^{ki} [*Dag-ba*]-al₆^{ki} [2]-^rx¹ [2 x-]^rx¹-du^{ki} 2 *A-ru₁₂-lu*^{ki} 2
Íl-gú-uš-ti 2 *Bù-^rx¹[-x]* 2 *Ki-t[i-ir]* 2 Ḫ[u-za-an^{ki}] šeš-[II-]ib k[éš-]da ká-ká *in*
 SA.ZA_x^{ki} *šu-ba₄-ti*; A 4 23 (21) . . . níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ir-ti* šeš-II-ib (*in*
Ar-u₉-gú^{ki})
 A 1 3 (I.Z.) (45): 9 ^ʾà. 9 a. 9 fb. ^ʾÀ-zi Ir-ti 1 dib 30 (gín) *Kùn-da-ba-an* ^ʾÀ-daš *Du-bí*
 1 dib tar 30 (gín) *Bù-zi Dab₆-da-ar A-mur-da-mu Bù-ga-nu* šeš-II-ib *šu-mu-nigin*
^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; (64): 2 ^ʾà. 2 a. 2 fb. 1 gír ^ʾÀ-zi *Du-bí* šeš-II-ib nídba 2
^dA-gúm
 A 1 4 (I.Z.) (63): 12 ^ʾà. 12 a. 12 fb. *A-gú-šum Ib-ḫur-^{d2}À-da* ^ʾÀ-da-ša 2 dib tar (gín)
Ír-ba-šu Á-lu^{ki} *I-ti-^dAš-dar* lú *En-na-ni-i* [] *Du-bù-ḫu-^{d2}À-da Dab₆-da-ar Íl-zi*
En-na-ma-gú Du-bí Ni-zi šeš-II-ib *šu-mu-nigin* ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; (79): 2
^ʾà. 2 a. 2 fb. ^ʾÀ-da-ša *Du-bí* šeš-II-ib 2 ^dA-gú
 A 1 5 (I.Z.) (49): 6 ^ʾà. 6 a. 6 fb. ^ʾÀ-da-ša *Ù-kul*^{ki} *I-ti-^dAš-dar* lú *En-na-ni-il*
Bù-ga-núm lú *Du-bí-zi-kir D[a²-] [] [] [] []* šeš-II-ib *ir-mi* (the š.-i. are pre-
 ceded by the ne-di, and they are followed by the nar and the muḫaldim)
 A 1 6 (I.Z.) (34): 4 ^ʾà. 4 a. 4 fb objects ^ʾÀ-zi lú Lá-a-LUM ^ʾÀ-da-šē *En-na-ma-gú*
Du-bí [šeš-II-ib] *ir-mi*
 A 1 7 (I.Z.) (53): 2 ^ʾà. 2 a. 13 fb. šeš-II-ib *Ma-nu-wa-ad*^{ki} *in A-bí-la-du*^{ki} *šu-ba₄-ti*;
 (71): ^ʾÀ-da-ša *I-ti-^dAš-dar Íl-e-i-šar* [. . . šeš-II-ib . . . ^dNI-da-b]al_x ^ʾÀ-ma-du^{ki}
 A 1 8 (I.Z.): 4 ^ʾà. 4 a. 4 fb. objects *En-na-i* lú EN-mar *Ib-dur-i-šar* ^ʾÀ-zi lú
Lá-a-LUM Íl-ba-gú-nu (šeš-II-ib)

- A 1 10 (I.Z.) (13): 2 íb. 'À-zi wa 'À-da-šè šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; (16): 2 íb. 'À-da-šè wa NI-ba-NI šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; (38): *Du-bù-ḥu-ma-lik* lú NI-a-BAD NI-da-NE lú *Ga-ba-nu* šeš-II-ib kěš-da in *A-rí-gú*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
- A 1 11 (Ibr.) (1)–(3): 2 gada-TÚG 2 íb. *Ru*₁₂-zi-li-im lú *I-rí-ig* 2 íb. *Bar-zi* lú A-KA-LUM 2 íb. *Šu-ma-lik* lú *Iš*₁₁-da-mu šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib; (11): níg-AN-AN-AN-AN *Šu-ma-lik* lú *Iš*₁₁-da-mu šeš-II-ib (36): 4 íb. 4 guruš *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} níg-AN-AN-AN-AN en šeš-II-ib
- A 1 12 (Ibr.) (10): 1 íb-lá *si-ti-tum* gír-kun 30 gín kg. 1 gír ^dNI-da-“bal” 'À-ma-du^{ki} in nídба šeš-II-ib; (21): níg-AN-AN-AN-AN *Ar-si-a-ḥa* šeš-II-ib; (26): níg-AN-AN-AN-AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-li-im šeš-II-ib *U₉-na-gú*^{ki}; (29): 1 'à. 1 a. 1 íb. 1 gada-TÚG EN-da-za šeš-II-ib
- A 1 13 (I.Z.) (8), (34): 2 íb. 'À-da-šè lú *Ga-ba-am*₆ *Du-bí* lú *Za-ḥa-NI-a* šeš-II-ib (kěš-da) SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídба ^dUtu / ^dKu-ra
- A 1 14 (Ibr.) (30): 2 íb. *Ḥáb-ra-ar* lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu wa Du-bí-ab* lú-kar šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 1 16 (I.Z.) (14): 1 íb 'À-da-šè šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 1 17 (Ibr.) (35): 2 íb. *Ḥu-ma-ra wa Daš-ni* lú-kar šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 3 31 (I.Z.) II 16ff.: . . . níg-AN-AN-AN-AN *dumu-nita Iš*₁₁-gi-da-ar šeš-II-ib
- A 3 36 rev. II 2'ff.: *Du-bí* lú *Za-ḥa-li-a* 'À-da-šè lú *Ga-ba-am*₆ šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*
- A 3 105 V 1ff.: 2 íb. 'À-da-ša lú A-ti *Bù-ga-núm* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib ùsan ^dKu-ra
- A 3 119 rev. III 1'ff.: *Puzur*₄-ra-ma-lik lú *Iš*₁₁-da-mu šeš-II-ib
- A 3 137 rev. II 7ff.: . . . níg-AN-AN-AN-AN *Ar-si-a-ḥa* šeš-II-ib
- A 3 203 II 1'ff.: -]ù *Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú *Na-am*₆-da-mu *Ḥi-la-ì* lú A-ma-za I-in-NI A-ša-lu-gú^{ki} šeš-II-ib [; IV 1'ff.: 12 'à. 12 a. 12 íb. *Dab*₆-da-ar 'À-zi lú Lá-a-LUM En-na-ì lú EN-mar *Ib-dur-i-šar Kùn-da-ba-an* [. . .] *Bù-da-ì* lú *Ti-la-ì* A-mur-da-mu *Šu-ga-LUM* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}
- A 3 265 (Ibr.) II 1'f.: *I-bí-zi-mu* šeš-II-ib
- A 3 333 obv. III 2'f.:]'x¹ šeš-II-ib in *A-rí-gú*^{ki}
- A 3 338 obv. II 4'ff.: 2 ma-na bar₆-kù níg-sa₁₀ 93-íb-TÚG lam₇ :ki šeš-II-ib
- A 3 457 (I.Z.) obv. III 1ff.:] 'À-daš *Bù-zi A-gú-šum Bù-ga-núm Du-bí Kùn-da-ba-an* šeš-III-ib á-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; rev. IV 1'ff.: [2] íb. 'À-zi *Du-bí* šeš-II-ib in ud 2 ^dA-gúm
- A 3 458 (I.Z.) obv. IV 4ff.: 4 'à. 4 íb. 10 GIŠ-ASAR 1 gír. 1 GIŠ-gu-kak. 'À-zi lú Lá-a-LUM *Dab*₆-da-ar lú *Ga-ba-da-mu* 'À-daš-šè *Du-bí-šum* lú 'A_x(EN)-zú-ma šeš-II-ib *ir-me*
- A 3 459 (I.Z.) rev. I 8: 2 íb. 'À-da-ša lú *Du-bí-zi-kir A-gú-šum* maskim *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 3 466 obv. V 1ff.:] NI-lum-bal lú sikil-šu šeš-II-ib
- A 3 508 III 1'ff.:] *Bù-gú-nu La-a-iš*₁₁-ru₁₂ lú Zu-NI-a *Daš-ne Áb-šu*^{ki} *Íl-zi* šeš-II-ib
- A 3 599 III 1ff.:] níg-AN-AN-AN-AN ama-gal en *I-bí-zi-kir* *dumu-nita Ib-rí-um* 'šeš¹[-II-ib
- A 3 811 II 1'ff.: *En-na-il* lú *En-mar* šeš-II-ib
- A 4 3 (I.Z.) (63): (2 garments) *Du-bí-zi-kir* lú A-da-gàr *Zé-kam*₄ lú NI-ga-ma-lik šeš-II-ib kěš-da in A-a-du šu-ba₄-ti

- A 4 4 (I.Z.) (7): 2 íb. *Zú-du* lú *A-a-ga-um* NI-lum-bal lú *A-bu*₁₄-gú-ra šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; (25): 2 íb. *In-ma-lik* lú *Zú-ma-na-an I-dè-ni-ki-ki-mu* lú BÍL-ma-lik šeš-II-ib kéš-da dag_x (LAK-457) ^dŠÁRA-ra en; (45) 2 íb. *Du-bí-sum* lú ²A_x(EN)-zú-mu *En-na-ì Gu-na-ù*^{ki} šeš-II-ib in ²À-da-ni šu-ba₄-ti
- A 4 5 (I.Z.) (1) ²À-zi lú *Lá-a-LUM Ir-ti* lú *Ib-rí-um Il-ti Ib-dur-i-šar Iš-la-ì Dab*₆-da-ar ²À-daš *A-mur-da-mu Kùn-da-ba-an* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; (10): 10 íb. ²À-zi *Du-bi* ²À-da-šè *Íl-ba-gú-nu En-na-ma-gú* NI-NI-ba NI-lum-bal *I-ti-lum Ír-ba*_x-zé *Du-ur-NI* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; (34)–(35) (2 garments *Su-ma-ì Wa-i-zú* šu-mu-“tag₄” uzu ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} 1 garments *Su-ma-ì*) níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Kùn-da-ba-an in á-nigin* ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} šeš-II-ib
- A 4 6 (I.Z.) (6): 2 íb. NI-lum-bal lú *Ír-am*₆-a-kéš *I-rí-ig-ma-lik* lú *Ib-te-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib kéš-da
- A 4 7 (I.Z.) (33): 2 íb. ²À-da-šè lú *Ga-ba-mu Du-bí* lú *Za-ḥa-li-a* šeš-II-ib kéš-da in ud nídba ^dTi-(<mu>)du; (39): 2 íb. *Má-za-gú* lú *Bu-ma-ì Gú-la-la-KUL*^{ki} ²À-da-ša lú *Ír-am*₆-da-mu šeš-II-ib dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra en
- A 4 8 (I.Z.) (19): 2 íb. *Du-bù-ḥu-ma-lik* lú NI-a-BAD *Za-zi* lú *Ír-da-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib kéš-da in *ḤAR-ba-du*^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
- A 4 9 (I.Z.) (1): [14] ²à. [14] a. [14] íb. ²À-zi lú *Lá-a-LUM En-na-ì* lú *En-mar Dab*₆-da-ar lú *Gaba-da-mu A-mur-da-mu Kùn-da-ba-an Ib-dur-i-šar En-na-ì* lú *Mi-ga-ì Ru*₁₂-zi-da-mu *Ir-ti Bù-da-ì* lú *Ti-la-ì* ²À-daš *Il-ti Šu-ga-LUM Iš-la-ì* lú *En-na-ì* šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; (5): . . . níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Il-ti* lú *Ḥa-ra-ì* šeš-II-ib in *Û-ga-ru*₁₂^{ki}; (27): . . . níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Iš-la-ì* lú *En-na-ì dam-gàr* šeš-II-ib *ás-da* ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} in ²À-za-an^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
- A 4 13 (Ibr.) (46): 2 íb. *In-gàr* lú *Iš-má-da-mu wa I-rí-gu* lú *Sá-gú-šum* šeš-II-ib kéš-da šu-du₈ *dumu-nita-dumu-nita* SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 4 18 (I.Z.) (13): ²À-zi lú *Lá-a-LUM* ²À-da-šè lú *Ga-ba-am*₆ [šeš-II-ib] kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; (23): 2 íb. ²À-zi ²À-da-šè kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; (64): 2 íb. ²À-da-šè *Il-ti* šeš-II-ib kéš-da
- A 4 19 (I.Z.) (28): 2 íb. *Du-bí-šum* lú EN-zú-mu *Iš*₁₁-gi-da-mu lú *Ša-ù-um* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; (44): 2 íb. *En-na-ì* lú EN-ga-ud *Du-ur-NI* lú *A-du-u*₉-a šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 4 20 (I.Z.) (20): 4 íb. ²À-da-šè *Du-bí Ib-ḥur*-^d²À-da *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 4 21 (I.Z.) (18): 2 íb. ²À-da-ša NI-za-ar^{ki} *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *Ra-i-zu* šeš-II-ib kéš-da
- A 4 22 (I.Z.) (35) and (36): 2 íb. ²À-zi lú *Lá-a-LUM Íl-ba-gú-nu* lú *Mu-gú* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- (A 4 23 + 1 2)
- A 4 24 (I.Z.) (7) = (21): 2 íb. ²À-zi lú *Lá-a-LUM Du-bí* lú *Za-ḥa-li-a* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 8 521 (I.Z.) (3): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-ti 1 *dumu-nita I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib; (9): 12 ²à. 12 a. 12 íb. ²À-da-ša *Û-kul*^{ki} *Ib-du-ì Ír-ba-šu Á-lu*^{ki} *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik EN-ti lú *I-bí-zi-kir Bù-ga-núm* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir I-ti*-^dAš-dar lú *En-na-ni-il Kùn-da-ba-an* lú

- Du-bí* 'À-da-sa Iš₁₁-da-mu lú Lá-a-LUM *Ib-gi-da-mu* lú ká *Ki-ti-ir* 'À-mi-šum lú *Iš-má-da-ba-an* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; (15): 1 'à. 1 a. 1 íb. Iš₁₁-da-mu lú Lá-a-LUM 'À-mi-šum lú *Iš-má-da-ba-an si-in* šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” en níg-gú-DU; (30) níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-ib-II; (41): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN EN-ti šeš-ib-II
- A 8 523 (I.Z.) (1): 3 'à. 3 a. 3 íb. objects 'À-mi-šum lú *Iš-má-da-ba-an I-ti*-^dAš-dar lú *En-na-ni-il Ib-du-ì Á-lu*^{ki} šeš-II-ib in *ir-mi*; (16): 2 íb. *I-ni-lum Mu-si-lu*^{ki} *Iš-má-da-ba-an Mar-tum*^{ki} šeš-II-ib kěš-da
- A 8 524 (I.Z.) (9): 2 íb. *Ib-du-ì Á-lu*^{ki} 'À-mi-šum šeš-ib-II kěš-da; (23) 2 íb. Iš₁₁-da-mu lú Lá-a-LUM *Ib-du-ì* lú *Á-lu*^{ki} šeš-ib-II kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- A 8 525 (I.Z.) (17): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *ma-lik-tum Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-ib-II in *Á-a*^{ki}
- A 8 527 (I.Z.) (4):] 'À-mi-šum lú *Iš-má-da-ba-an Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *I-bí-zi-kir I-ti*-^dAš-dar lú *En-na-ni-il Bù-ga-núm* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir Iš*₁₁-da-mu lú Lá-a-LUM *Íl-ba-šu Ib-du-ì Á-lu*^{ki} šeš-ib-II; (20) e (35): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-ib-II in *Mar-tum*^{ki}
- A 8 529 (I.Z.) (52): 2 íb. 'À-da-ša lú *Iš-má-da-mu Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib dag_x(LAK-493) 2 na₄ en
- A 8 532 (I.Z.) (12): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib in *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} lú šu-mu-nigin
- A 8 533 (I.Z.) (35): 2 íb. *Ib-du-ì* 'À-mi-zu šeš-II-ib kěš-da
- A 8 540 (I.Z.) (24): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-ib-II in *Ba-nu*^{ki}; (39): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-ib-II in *Za-ra-mi-du*^{ki}; (40): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-ib-II; (41): níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ír*-^à-ag-da-mu *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-ib-II
- A 8 541 (I.Z.) (1): 9 'à. 9 a. 9 íb. 'À-da-ša *Ù-kul*^{ki} *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú *I-bí-zi-kir Ib-du-ì Ír-ba-šu Á-lu*^{ki} *I-ti*-^dAš-dar lú *En-na-ni-il Bù-ga-núm* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir Ib-gi-da-mu* lú *I-az-ma-lik Kùn-da-ba-an* [. . . šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal”] *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; (19) *Ga-d*[u-um] *dumu-nita* en šeš-II-ib níd^dba [^d]A¹-gú
- MEE 2 25 (Ibr.) rev. VI 1ff.: 9 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* 9 a. 9 íb. EN-da-za *Maš-bar-ra*^{ki} *Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú *Iš-má-da-mu Ru*₁₂-zi-li-im lú *I-rí-ig Ar-si-aḥ* lú *Ì-na-ad Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú Iš₁₁-gi-da-ar *En-na-ì* lú *Ša-ù-um Bar-zi* lú A-KA-LUM *Íl-zi* lú *En-na-ì Du-bí* lú *I-ti*-^dGa-mi-iš šeš-II-ib
- MEE 2 39 (I.Z.) obv. II 12ff.: 2 íb. 'À-zi lú Lá-a-LUM 'À-da-šè lú *Ga-ba-am*₆ šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; obv. V 9ff.: 2 íb. 'À-da-šè lú *Ga-ba-am*₆ *Du-bù-ḥu-ma-lik* lú [NI-a-]BAD šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; obv. VII 4ff.: 2 íb. 'À-zi 'À-da-šè šeš-II-ib kěš-da in ud níd^dba ^dTi-mu-du
- MEE 2 40 (I.Z.) obv. IV 11ff.: 2 íb. 'À-da-ša lú *Ír-am*₆-da-mu *Du-bí-šum* lú *Ḥáb-ra-ar* šeš-II-ib dag_x ^dŠÁRA-iš en
- 75.1216 (I.Z.) obv. II 16ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik *dumu-nita I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib in *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; III 15ff.: 4 'à. 4 a. 4 íb. *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik *dumu-nita I-bí-zi-kir* 'À-mi-šum lú *Iš-má-da-ba-an Ib-du-ì Á-lu*^{ki} Iš₁₁-da-mu lú Lá-a-lum šeš-II-ib; rev. III 12ff.: 8 íb. *Ib-du-ì Á-lu*^{ki} *A-ba* lú *Bù-ti Nab-ḥa-ì* lú *I-rí-ig-da-mu*

- I-si-lum* lú *In-gàr Si-ti* lú *EN-da-za Ba-za-a* lú *Du-bí BÍL-za-ì* lú *’À-bí Bù-da-ì* lú *Gaba-da-mu* šeš-II-ib kēš-da *in A-da-bí-gú^{ki}* lú *igi-ḫi-du_g*
- 75.1225 (I.Z.) rev. IV 9ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1262 (Ibr.) rev. II 3ff.: *In-na-at a-mu Ar-si-a-ḫa* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1298 (Ibr.) obv. II 3ff.: *In-na-at a-mu Ar-si-a-ḫa* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1317 (Ibr.) obv. VIII 1ff.: 6 fb. *Ru₁₂-zi-li-im Šu-ma-lik* lú *Iš₁₁-da-mu Bar-zi* lú *A-KA-lum* ¹*Iš¹-má-da-ba-an* lú *Iš-má-da-mu Íl-zi* lú *En-na-il EN-ga-da-ba-an* lú *Iš₁₁-gi-da-ar* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1324 (Ibr.) rev. V 14: 2 fb. *La-a-iš₁₁-ru₁₂* lú *Zu-NI-a wa Ḫáb-ra-ar* lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu* šeš-2-ib kēš-da *in ’À-za-an^{ki}* šu-ba₄-ti
- 75.1326 (Ibr.) obv. III 2ff.: 2 fb. *Īr-NI-ba UŠ.KI wa Du-bí* lú *I-ti-ga-mi-iš* šeš-II-ib kēš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.1329 (Ibr.) obv. X 1ff.: 1 fb. *La-a-iš-ru₁₂* lú *Zú-NI-a* šeš-II-ib kēš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.1337 (Ibr.) obv. III 3ff.: 2 sal-TÚG *Ra-i-zú wa Ru₁₂-zu-wa-aš* lú GIŠ.NU.ŠAR šeš-2-ib kēš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; rev. I 7ff.; 1 fb. *I-si-rúm* lú *En-na-il* lú *dumu-nita dingir-dingir-dingir* kēš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} šeš-II-ib
- 75.1344 (Ibr.) rev. VII 3ff.: 2 fb. *’À-bí* lú *Da-da-il Zé-kam₄* lú *Za-ḫa-li-a* šeš-II-ib *in ud nídba* ^d*Ti-mu-ud*
- 75.1351 (Ibr.) obv. III 9ff.: 1 fb. *Šu-ma-lik* lú *Iš₁₁-da-mu* šeš-II-ib; V 7ff.: 1 *’à*. 1 a. 1 fb. *Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* lú *Iš₁₁-da-mu* šeš-II-ib; VI 5ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ar-si-a-ḫa* šeš-II-ib; VIII 7ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *En-na-il* lú *Ša-ù-um* šeš-II-ib; rev. V 10ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *I-si-rúm* *dumu-nita* [*Ib-*]gú-nu ne-di šeš-II-ib; VII 5ff.: *I-si-rúm* *dumu-nita* *Ib-gú-nu* ne-di šeš-II-ib
- 75.1356 (I.Z.) obv. II 4ff.: 2 fb. *Du-bí* lú *Zé-kam₄* *Du-bù-ḫu-ma-lik* lú *NI-a-BAD* šeš-II-ib kēš-da nídba ^d*Ti-mu-ud*; III 4ff.: 2 fb. *Má-za-gú* lú *Bu-ma-ì* *Gú-ra-ra-KUL^{ki}* *I-dè-ni-ki-mu* lú *BÍL-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra en
- 75.1361 (Ibr.) rev. I 4ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *dumu-nita* *En-na-ì* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1364 (Ar.) obv. III 8ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Rí-ì-Ma-lik* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1389 (I.Z.) obv. I 1ff.: 10 *’à*. 10 a. 10 fb. *’À-zi Ir-ti ’À-da-šè Dab₆-da-ar* *A-mur-da-mu Il-ti Ib-dur-i-šar Iš-la-ì* *En-na-ma-gú Kùn-da-ba-an* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*; rev. II 1ff.: 10 *’à*. 10 fb. *Lu-a-ì Iš-ba-ì* *Da₅-ru₁₂^{ki}* *Íl-zi-kam₄* lú *En-na-BAD A-a-lu^{ki}* *Du-bí-šum Bar-zi* lú *Za-ḫa-a Lu-zu* lú *Ig-rí-su Bù-da-ma-lik Ib-u₉-mu-ud Da-rí-bù^{ki}* *En-na-ma-lik* lú *AN-ḫa-du* *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* lú *Du-ba-ù* šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}*
- 75.1407 (Ibr.) obv. V 13ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ḫáb-ra[-ar]* lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu* šeš-II-ib; rev. III 1ff.: 11 fb. *Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik Šu-ma-lik* 2 *dumu-nita Iš₁₁-da-mu* *Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú *Iš-má-da-mu* *En-na-ni-il* lú *Ša-ù-um Ḫáb-ra-ar* lú *Ib-ga-iš-lu* *EN-da-za* [(3 PN)] [*Ib-*]gú-nu *Íl-zi* lú *En-na-ni-il* šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib
- 75.1416 (I.Z.) obv. IV 7ff.: 2 fb. šeš-II-ib kēš-da *in Gār-ga-mi-su^{ki}*
- 75.1417 obv. III 6ff.: 2 *’à*. 2 fb. *Ru₁₂-zi-li-im wa Du-bí* šeš-II-ib ^d*Ga-mi-iš*; rev. III 11ff.: 2 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* 2 fb. *Ru₁₂-zi-li-im wa Gaba-da-mu* šeš-II-ib SA.ZA_x^{ki}; VIII 11ff.: 2 fb. *Zi-i-šar* maškim *I-bí-šum wa En-na-ma-lik* [] šeš[-II-ib] kēš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}

- 75.1440 (Ar. ?) rev. II 12ff.: 1 fb. *Íl-zi-li-im* šeš-II-eb
 75.1442 (I.Z.) obv. IV 2ff.: 2 fb. *Kùn-da-ba-an* lú *Du-bí* 'À-da-ša lú *Ìr-am₆-da-mu* šeš-II-ib dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra en
 75.1524 (Ibr.) obv. IV 2ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *I-bí-zi-kir* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um* šeš-II-ib; V 6ff.: 1 sal-TÚG 1 fb. *I-si-rúm in* šu-mu-“tag₄” ZA_x en níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib
 75.1537 (I.Z.) rev. XII 17ff.: 3 KIN siki GIŠ-gígir-II šeš-II-ib bîr-BAR.AN en *Ar-mi*^{ki}
 75.1588 obv. V 10ff.: 2 fb. *Na-ga-um* lú *A-šum En-na-ma-lik* lú *Puzur₄-ra* dam-gâr šeš-II-eb kéš-da SAZA_x^{ki}; rev. V 8ff.: 2 fb. *Ìr-NI-ba* lú *Iš₁₁-da-mu* 'À-daš lú *En-na-ì* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
 75.1675 (I.Z.) obv. V 6ff.: 2 fb. *A-bí-za-mu* lú *Áš-ša-ti-ga Da-zi-ma-lik* lú *En-na-ì* šeš-II-ib kéš-da
 75.1680 (I.Z.) obv. V 20ff.: 2 fb. *Ib-u₉-mu-du Bù-wa* šeš-II-ib nídba ^dŠa-ma-gan
 75.1701 (Ibr.) rev. IV 8ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ĥa-ra-il* šeš-II-ib 'À-da-ni^{ki}
 75.1706 (Ibr.) obv. XI 5ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *En-na-ni-il* lú *Ša-ù-um* šeš-II-ib
 75.1708 (Ibr.) rev. XI 13ff.: 2 gu-dùl-TÚG 2 a. 2 fb. *Ĥu-ma-zu Íl-zi* šeš-II-ib ^dEn-ki
 75.1729 (I.Z.) obv. 17ff.: 1 'à 1 a.1 fb. *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* dumu-nita *I-bí-zi-kir si-in* šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” en šu-ĥi-mu-“tag₄”; I 9ff.: 9 'à. 9 a. 9 fb. 'À-da-ša Û-la-KUL^{ki} *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* dumu-nita *I-bí-zi-kir Ìr-ba-šu Ib-du-ì Á-lu*^{ki} *Ib-gi-da-mu Kùn-da-ba-an* lú *Du-bí Bù-ga-núm* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir I-ti-^dAš-dar* lú *En-na-ni-il* 'À-da-ša lú *A-ti* šeš-II-ib ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}
 75.1731 (I.Z.) obv. I 16–II 5: 2 fb. *Ki-ti-ir* lú *I-da-ni-ki-mu* 'À-LUM lú *Ìr-kab-ar* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
 75.1742 (Ibr.) obv. VI 2ff.: 'à. 9 a. 9 fb. *I-bí-zi-kir wa En-na-Il Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik* *Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú In-gâr I-rí-ig EN-ga-da-ba-an Iš-má-da-ba-an Û-ti* šeš-2-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” (*Lu-ba-an*^{ki}); rev. III 9ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *I-bí-zi-kir* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um* šeš-II-ib in *Lu-ub*^{ki}
 75.1744 (I.Z.) rev. III 17ff.: 8 'à. 8 a. 8 fb. 'À-zi lú *Lá-a-LUM* 1 dib 30 gín kù-gi 'À-da-ša lú *Du-bi-zi-kir* 1 dib 30 gín kù-gi *A-gú-šum* maškim *I-bí-zi-kir Ir-ti* lú *Ib-rí-um Kùn-da-ba-an* lú *Du-bí Bù-zi* lú *A-bí-za-mu Du-bí* lú *Za-ĥa-a* 1 dib 30 gín kù-gi *Íl-zi* lú *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; rev. VI 6ff.: 1 'à. 1 a. 2 fb. 1 níg-lá-sag 1 gada-TÚG *Íl-zi* lú *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik* 'À₅-a-bù-du^{ki} šeš-II-ib in á-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} (cf. VII 23ff.: *Su-ma-ì Wa-ĥi-zu* šu-mu-“tag₄” *uzu in* á-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}); IX 15ff.: 10 'à. 10 a. 10 fb. *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik I-ti-^dAš-dar Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* lú *Du-ba-ù NI-ba-NI Du-bí Šu-ì-lum Iš-ba-ì Kéš-ma-lik NI-ti-ga-da-mu* [9 PNs!] šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki}
 75.1754 (I.Z.) obv. IV 17ff.: 2 fb. *Iš₁₁-ga-um* 'À-šè 2 dumu-nita ^r*Iš₁₁-da-mu* šeš-II-ib kéš-da GIŠ-ti
 75.1760 (Ibr.) obv. I 1ff.: 5 'à. 5 a. 5 fb. *I-bí-zi-kir wa Û-ti* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um En-na-il* lú *En-mar Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú* lú *Sá-gú-šum In-gâr* lú *A-a-da-mu* šeš-II-ib in šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; III 3: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Û-ti* šeš-II-ib in *Ig-dar*^{ki}

- 75.1761 (Ibr.) rev. VIII 7ff.: 4 ṽ. 4 a. 4 fb. [-]zi-kir En-na-il In-gàr Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik šeš-II-ib in ir-me
- 75.1763 (I.Z.) obv. VII 9ff.: 8 fb. Maḥ-rí lú ṽ^x-NE A-du-lum lú Ib-ga-ì Du-bí-šum lú En-na-ì di-kud ṽ^À-da-ša Íl-e-i-šar lú En-na-ma-lik Du-bù-ḥu-ma-lik lú A-rí-ga NI-za-NI lú Rí-ì-ma-lik Zi-mi-na-ma-lik lú Ar-si-a-ḥu šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki}
- 75.1765 (I.Z.) rev. IV 2ff.: 2 fb. Du-bí lú Zé-kam₄ Īr-ba-šu Á-lu^{ki} šeš-II-ib kéš-da in NE-a-ù^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti
- 75.1772 (Ibr.) obv. I 1ff.: 2 ṽ. 2 fb. I-si-rúm lú Ib-gú-nu wa Íl-da-kas lú En-zú-wa-aš šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki}; VI 3ff.: 2 fb. I-si-rúm lú En-na-il Du-bí-šum lú NI-gul šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki}
- 75.1775 (I.Z.) obv. V 1ff.: 2 fb. <I>-dè-ni-ki-mu lú BÍL-ma-lik In-ma-lik lú Zu-ma-na-an šeš-II-ib kéš-da in Ūr-lu^{ki}; rev. VI 14: 2 fb. ṽ^À-zi ṽ^À¹-da-šē šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki}
- 75.1776 (Ibr.) obv. XI 11ff.: [8 gu-]mug-TÚG [8] fb. Šu-ma-lik lú Iš₁₁-da-mu EN-da-za lú EN-ŠID Iš-má-da-ba-an lú Iš-má-da-mu I-si-rúm lú Ib-gú-nu ne-di En-na-ni-il lú Ša-ù-um Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik lú Iš₁₁-da-mu Ar-si-a-ḥa Íl-zi lú En-na-ì di-kud šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib ^dNI-da-“bal”
- 75.1777 (Ibr.) obv. V 4ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ir¹-ti lú Ib-rí-um in ṽ^{Zàr}¹-ra-mi-du^{ki} šeš-II-ib àga-ús; XI 5ff.: 2 fb. [Íl-]¹ba¹-[gú-nu] lú Mu-gú Ib-ḥur-^dṽ^À-da (unwritten) šeš-II-ib kéš-da in ní[dba; rev. XII 15ff.: 13 KIN siki níg-sa₁₀-níg-sa₁₀ En-na-ni-il lú ma-lik-tum in lam₇:ki šeš-II-ib šu-ba₄-ti
- 75.1781 (I.Z.) rev. X 4ff.: 20 KIN siki níg-sa₁₀-níg-sa₁₀ En-na-ni-il šu-ba₄-ti lam₇-ki šeš-II-ib
- 75.1783 (Ibr.) obv. III 5: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN En-na-il lú Ša-ù-um [šeš-II-]ib; XI 4ff.: 8 ṽ. 8 fb. Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik wa Šu-ma-lik lú Iš₁₁-da-mu En-na-ni-il lú Ša-ù-um Iš-má-da-ba-an lú Iš-má-da-mu BÍL-ma-lik lú Ba-ḥa-ga I-si-rúm lú Ib-gú-nu EN-ga-da-ba-an lú Iš₁₁-gi-da-ar Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú lú Sá-gú-šum šeš-II-ib in šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” Lu-ba-an^{ki}; rev. V 13ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú šeš-II-ib
- 75.1797 (Ibr.) obv. V 10ff.: 1 ṽ. 1 a. 1 fb. Íl-zi lú En-na-ì di-kud šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib ir-mi; VII 1ff.: 2 fb. Daš-ne wa Ḥu-ma-ra šeš-II-ib kéš-da
- 75.1830 (I.Z.) rev. V' 11ff.: 11 ṽ. 11 a. 11 fb. A-NE-sa I-ti-aš-dar Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik NI-ba-NI Iš-má-da-ba-an I-ba-iš-li-im Iš-ba-ì Ib-dur-^dṽ^À-da Kéš-ma-lik NI-ti-ga-da-mu [10 PNs!] šeš-II-ib á-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” A-ru₁₂-ga-du^{ki}
- 75.1834 (Ibr.) rev. II 11ff.: 2 fb. Íl-zi lú Iš₁₁-gú-nu wa Šu-ma-lik lú Iš₁₁-da-mu šeš-II-ib kéš-da in ud NE-sag Ib-rí-um
- 75.1837 (Ibr.) obv. VIII 14ff.: 1 ṽ. 1 a. 1 fb. Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik lú Iš₁₁-da-mu šeš-II-ib ^dRa-sa-ap gú-núm; IX 1ff.:] Íl-zi lú En-na-il šeš-II-ib ^dA-ga; IX 6ff.: 1 ṽ. 1 a. 1 fb. 1 GIŠ-gu-kak-gíd 1 GIŠ-banšur Ḥáb-ra-ar lú Ib-ga-iš-lu šeš-II-ib ^dEN.ZU wa ^dBa-li-ḥa; IX 15ff.: 2 ṽ. 2 a. 2 fb. BÍL-ma-lik Íl-zi lú Iš₁₁-gú-nu Daš-na šeš-II-ib ir-me
- 75.1870 (Ibr.) obv. III 5ff.: 2 fb. Īr-NI-ba ù maškim-sù šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki} in ud nídba ^dKu-ra; XIII 10ff.: 2 fb. I-rí-da-mu Dab₆-da-ar šeš-II-ib ṽ^À-da-ni^{ki}
- 75.1873 (Arr.) rev. I 16: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ig-rí-su šeš-II-ib

- 75.1875 (Ibr.) obv. III 1ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN dumu-nita en šeš-II-ib GIŠ-dug-du; rev. II 9: 1 gu-dùl-TÚG 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb. *Daš-ne Áb-šu^{ki} šeš-II-ib 'À-da-ni^{ki}*
- 75.1884 (Ibr.) obv. VI 12ff.: 2 íb. *Am₆-mu-rí lú Du-bí-zi-kir En-na-ni-il lú I-bí-zi-im* šeš-II-ib in ud nídba ^dUtu SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.1890 (I.Z.) obv. VI 8ff.: 2 íb. *'À-téš-šè lú En-na-ì Íl-ba-gú-nu lú Mu-gú* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.1891 (Ibr.) rev. III 4ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Wa-a-šum in Bù-ra-an^{ki}* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1894 (I.Z.) obv. II 13ff.: 2 íb. *'À-da-ša lú A-ti Du-bí-šum lú En-na-ì di-kud* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; III 3ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* šeš-II-ib in *U₉-ne-gú^{ki}*; V 13ff.: 1 íb. *Du-bù-^d'À-da [ma-lik-]tum* in-na-sum 4 è ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an^{ki}* 1 íb. 1 gada-TÚG túg-mu *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* en níg-dug-DU in ud šeš-II-ib in *U₉-ne-gú^{ki}*; rev. II 9ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Du-bí-zi-kir lú En-na-ni-il* šeš-II-ib; III 11ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* šeš-II-ib
- 75.1895 (I.Z.) obv. II 1ff.: ^x1[] *Du-bí* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} (in) é simug šu-ba₄-ti; IX 1ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bí-zi-kir lú Na-zu-mu Ib-u₉-mu-du* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} in é-siki šu-ba₄-ti
- 75.1896 (I.Z.) obv. V 13ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* šeš-II-ib (in *Da-rí-nu^{ki}*); VI 8ff.: 1 íb. *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* in ud šeš-II-ib in *Da-rí-nu^{ki}* *ma-lik-tum* níg-dug-DU (cf. 2507)
- 75.1934 (I.Z.) obv. 16ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bù-ḫu-Ma-lik lú NI-BAD Íl-ba-gú-nu lú Mu-gú* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídba ^dKu-ra
- 75.1935 (Ibr.) obv. VI 3ff.: 2 'à. 2 a. 2 íb. *Ḫu-ma-ra Ra-ti-bù* šeš-II-ib; XIV 15ff.: 2 íb. *Ru₁₂-zi-[x-]x¹* *Da-ti* šeš-II-ib maškim *A-ag*
- 75.1943 (I.Z.) obv. V 16ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bí-šum lú Ḫáb-ra-ar En-na-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; VI 12ff.: 2 íb. *A-gú-šum* maškim *I-bí-zi-kir Du-bí-šum* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.1962 (I.Z.) rev. V 12: 2 íb. *'À-zi lú Lá-a-LUM Du-bí-šum lú A-zú-ma* šeš-II-ib
- 75.2233 (Ibr.) obv. VII 7ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *I-bí-zi-kir(!; the text has: Ib-rí-um)* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um* šeš-II-ib in *Dur-NE-du^{ki}*
- 75.2239 (Ibr.) obv. VII 11ff.: 2 íb. *I-ti-da-mu lú Zàr-BAD wa Ìr-am₆-ma-lik lú* *Ib-ga-is-lu* šeš-II-ib kéš-da nídba ^dTi-mu-ud
- 75.2242 (I.Z.) obv. X 3ff.: 3 'à. 3 a. 3 íb. *'À-zi 'À-da-ša A-gú-šum* šeš-II-ib *ir-mi^{ki}*
- 75.2243 (I.Z.) obv. VIII 12ff.: 1 'à. 1 a. 1 íb. *Iš₁₁-da-mu lú Nap-ḫa-ì* šeš-II-ib kéš-da in *A-te-na-ad^{ki}* šu-ba₄-ti
- 75.2245 (I.Z.) obv. IV 22ff.: 3+3+3 t. nig-ba en wa níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* ^dRa-sa-ap *'À-da-ni^{ki}* wa *A-dam-ma-sù lú* šeš-II-ib in NE-sag en wa *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum; VII 5: 1 'à. 1 a. 1 íb. *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* in ud àga-ús in šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an^{ki}* en níg-dug-DU; IX 13ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* šeš-II-ib in *Ba-nu^{ki}*; rev. I 22ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* šeš-II-ib in *Ti-iš-da-gú^{ki}*
- 75.2247 (I.Z.) obv. XIII 2ff.: 7 'à. 7 a. 7 íb. *A-gú-šum 'À-da-ša Du-bù-ḫu-^d'À-da* *Ìr-ba-šu Kùn-da-ba-an Bù-ga-nu I-ti-^dAš-dar* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal”

- Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; XIII 17ff.: 3 'à. 3 a. 3 íb. 'À-da-ša *Du-bù-ḫu*-^d'À-da 'À-zi šeš-II-ib *in* nídba 2 ^dA-gúm
- 75.2248 (Ibr.) obv. XIII 6ff.: 1 'à. 1 a. 1 íb. *Ìr-NI-ba* UŠ.KI 1 'à. 1 a. 1 íb. *Ir-NE* lú *Iš₁₁-gu-mu* šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*
- 75.2249 (Arr.) obv. VI 3ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Iš-má-da-mu* šeš-II-ib; X 19ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Zé-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib *Ga-na-ad*^{ki}
- 75.2250 (I.Z.) obv. II 2ff.:] lú *Ru₁₂-zú-wa-aš* šeš-II-ib dag_x ^dŠÁRA-ra en
- 75.2252 (Ibr.) obv. III 7: 2 íb. *A-mu-rí wa Ib-dur-ša-mi-ir* dumu-nita EN-gi-sa *Ni-NE-du*^{ki} šeš-II-ib kéš-da *in* nídba ^dTi-mu-ud
- 75.2257 (Ibr.) rev. IV 6ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Kùn-da-ba-an* šeš-II-ib
- 75.2267 (Ibr.) obv. I 4ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Kùn-da-ba-an* dumu-nita [*Ḫa*]-ra-ì šeš-II-ib šeš-II-ib [*Lu*]-*ba-an*^{ki}; IX 7ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Û-ti* šeš-II-ib *A-rí-gú*^{ki}
- 75.2274 (I.Z.) obv. V 9: 2 íb. *Kùn-da-ba-an* lú *Du-bí* 'À-da^{ki} šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.2275 (I.Z.) obv. VI 1: 1 'à. 1 a. 1 íb. *Du-bù-ḫu*-^d'À-da *in* ud *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib *in* šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} (1 t. 'À-da-ša lú *Ib-dur-i-šar*) níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib; (VII 10ff.: *Su*]-*ma*-ì [š_u-m]u-“tag₄” uzu ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}); VIII 12ff.: (*Sá-gú-si* lú ZÉ) níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum (1 sal-TÚG 1 íb. *En-na-ì* maškim *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* šu-mu-“tag₄” uzu *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum); rev. IX 11ff.: (1 sal-TÚG 1 íb. *En-na-ì* maškim *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* šu-mu-“tag₄” uzu *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum 'x¹ t. 'x¹ kg. *Sá-gú-si* lú ZÉ) níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib *in* *A-ru₁₂-ga-du*^{ki} *ma-lik-tum* ì-na-sum
- 75.2281 (Ibr.) rev. 5ff.: *Iš₁₁-ga-bar-zú* lú *Sá-gú-šum* *Ib-dur-i-šar* *Du-bí-šum* šeš-II-ib *ir-me*
- 75.2329 (I.Z.) obv. III 15ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bí-šum* lú *En-na-ì* *Iš-má-ma-lik* lú *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib dag_x 2 na₄ en
- 75.2330 (I.Z.) rev. I 1ff.: 2 íb. *Gú-ba-lum* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* *Ḫar-ḫu-lu* lú *I-da-ni-ki-mu* šeš-II-ib kéš-da *in* *A-nu*^{ki}
- 75.2335 (I.Z.) obv. VIII 15: 2 íb. 'À-da-ša *Íl-e-i-šar* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.2352 (I.Z.) obv. I 9: 2 'à. 2 a. 2 íb. *Il-ti* lú *Ḫa-ra-ì wa Ir-ti* lú *Ib-rí-um* šeš-II-ib *in* *Da-ra-um*^{ki}; III 1ff.: *Du-ur-NI* *Íl-ba-gú-nu* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA^{ki}; rev. IV 11: 2 íb. *Íl-ba-gú-nu* lú *Ga-ba-nu* NI-ba-NI lú *En-na-ì* šeš[-II-ib] kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du; VI 11ff.: 2 íb. *I-ti-NE* lú *En-na-ì* *Íl-ba-gú-nu* lú *Mu-gú* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.2353 (I.Z.) obv. I 8ff.: 2 íb. 'À-da-ša lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* *Ib-du-ì* *Á-lu*^{ki} šeš-II-ib *in* nídba ^dTi-mu-du
- 75.2356 (I.Z.) obv. X 4ff.: 2 íb. *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* lú *Ib-ga-ì* *Da-zi-ma-ad* lú *En-na-ì* nimgir šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.2372 (I.Z.) obv. I 1ff.: 9 'à. 9 a. 9 íb. 'À-da-ša lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* *Kùn-da-ba-an* lú *Du-bí* *Ìr-ba-šu* *Á-lu*^{ki} *Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik* lú *I-bí-zi-kir* 'À-da-ša lú *A-ti* *Bù-ga-núm* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* *I-ti*-^d*Aš-dar* lú *En-na-ni-il* *Ib-gi-da-mu* lú *I-az*(LUL.ZA_x)-*ma-lik* *Ib-du-ì* *Á-lu*^{ki} šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}

- 75.2374 (Ibr.) obv. I 3ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN ¹en¹ *I-bí-zi-kir wa Û-ti dumu-nita Ib-rí-um* šeš-II-ib *in* šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal”; IX 15ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN en *Ki-ti-ir lú Du-bí* šeš-II-ib; rev. I 2ff.: 9 ²à. 9 a. 9 íb. *In-gàr lú A-da-mu En-na-il lú En-mar Ib-du-^dKu-ra lú nídba ì-giš Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú I-rí-gu 2 dumu-nita Sá-gú-šum Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik lú Iš₁₁-da-mu I-bí-zi-kir Ki-ti-ir Û-ti* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal”
- 75.2401 (I.Z.) obv. I 10ff.: 14 íb-TÚG šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib *na-a-lum na-a-lum* SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud igi-*h*i-du₈; III 11ff.: 2 íb. ²À-da-šè Íl-e-i-šar šeš-II-ib nídba ^dRa-sa-ap Du-ne-é^bki; IV 2ff.: (10 t.) Íl-e-i-šar ²À-da-šè Dab₆-da-ar Ib-u₉-mu-du Du-bí-zi-kir SA.ZA_x^{ki} *Mar-ga Ib-du-ì I-ti-^dNI-da-“bal” Sa-mu-du^{ki} Íl-ba-ì A-ru₁₂-lu^{ki} Ib-gi-da-mu* maškim *Ki-ti-ir* šeš-II-ib kэш-da *in* ud nídba ^dNI-da-“bal” ²À-ma-du^{ki}; VI 9ff.: 2 ²à. 2 a. 2 íb. *Ib-u₉-mu-du* SA.ZA_x^{ki} *Mar-ga Sa-mu-du^{ki}* šeš-II-ib *in* ud nídba ^dÁ-la; VII 22ff.: 10 íb. Íl-e-i-šar ²À-da-šè *Ib-u₉-mu-du Ga-du-um Dab₆-da-ar Ib-dur-Kur^{ki} SA.ZA^{ki} Mar-ga Ib-du-ì Sa-mu-du^{ki} ²À-da-ša Gal-tum^{ki} En-na-ì* maškim *Ir-ti* šeš-II-ib kэш-da *in* ud en *Du-ub^{ki} ì-ti si-in* níg-kas₄-níg-kas₄
- 75.2407 (I.Z.) obv. IV 3ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib
- 75.2443 (Ibr.) obv. IX 4ff.: 2 íb. *A-ba-ga Ib-dur-da-ar* šeš-II-ib kэш-da
- 75.2444 (I.Z.) obv. V 1ff.: 2 íb. *A-gú-šum ²À-da-ša* šeš-II-ib kэш-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du
- 75.2450 (Ibr.) rev. IV 14ff.: 2 íb Íl-zi lú *En-na-BAD wa I-ti-da-mu lú Sal-m[a-*h*ir]* šeš-II-ib kэш-da *in* ud nídba ^dTi-mu-du
- 75.2456 (Ibr.) rev. III 6ff.: 6 ²à. 6 a. 6 íb. *I-bí-zi-kir dumu-nita Ib-rí-um Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik lú Iš₁₁-da-mu A-a-i-lu lú Zú-ni-a Iš₁₁-gi-bar-zú wa I-rí-ig lú Sá-gú-šum In-gàr lú A-da-mu* šeš-II-ib *in ir-me*
- 75.2460 (I.Z.) obv. I 15ff.: [2] íb. ²À-zi *Du-bí* šeš-II-ib kэш-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.2466 (Ibr.) obv. II 19ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *En-na-il lú Ša-ù-um* šeš-II-ib
- 75.2471 (I.Z.) obv. VIII 5ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN Ru₁₂-zi-ma-lik šeš-II-ib *in* NI-ab^{ki} *ma-lik-tum [ì-na-sum]*
- 75.2493+2495 obv. III 1ff.: *Du-bù-*h*u-ma-lik]* lú NI-a-BAD šeš-II-ib kэш-da *in* *Sá-du-úr^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*
- 75.2499 (I.Z.) obv. V 11ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bù-*h*u-ma-lik lú NI-a-BAD Íl-[ba-]gú-nu lú [Mu-]gú* šeš-II-ib kэш-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}; X 7ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bù-*h*u-ma-lik lú NI-a-BAD Íl-ba-um* šeš-II-ib kэш-da *in A-rí-gú šu-ba₄-ti*; rev. II 14ff.: 2 íb. *En-na-ì Bù-da-ì lú EN-ga-ud* šeš-II-ib kэш-da *in* NE-a-ù^{ki}
75. 2504 (I.Z.) obv. I 9ff.: 2 íb. *En-na-ma-gú lú Puzur₄-ra dam-gàr Ma-a-bar-zú lú Ìr-ga-bù* šeš-II-ib kэш-da ^dŠa-ma-gan; V 8ff.: 2 íb. *Ba-za-a lú Du-bí Ma-a-bar-zu lú Ìr-ga-bù* šeš-II-ib *in* nídba ^dTi-mu-du; rev. IV 3ff.: 2 íb. NE-zi-ma-lik Á-lu^{ki} maškim *Rí-ti Ìr-NI-ba NI-rúm^{ki}* šeš-II-ib kэш-da; V 5ff.: 2 íb. ²À-zi *wa In-ma-lik lú Zú-mu-na* šeš-II-ib kэш-da
- 75.2511 (I.Z.) obv. Iff.: 8 ²à. 8 a. 8 íb. *Ib-dur-i-šar Dab₆-da-ar En-na-ì lú EN-mar Kùn-da-ba-an Ru₁₂-zi-da-mu lú [I]š-má-da-mu En-na-i lú Mi-ga-ì LAM-gi-da-mu wa A-mur-da-mu lú Iš-má-da-mu* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nígin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an^{ki}*

- 75.2522 (I.Z.) rev. V 15ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bù-ḥu-ma-lik* lú NI-a-BAD *wa Ki-ti-ir* lú *I-da-ni-ki-mu* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} *in* ud nídba ^dŠa-ma-gan
- 75.2524 (I.Z.) obv. VIII 4ff.: 5 ’à. 5 a. 5 íb. *Ib-dur*-^dKu-ra lú nídba ì-giš *En-na-ì* lú EN-mar *Dab-da-ar* lú GABA-da-mu *En-na-ì* lú Mi-ga-ì *Ib-dur-i-šar* lú Kam₄-da-mu šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *Lu-ba-an*^{ki}; rev. IV 3ff.: 2 íb. *En-na-il* lú EN-ga-ud *Ar-si-a-ḥa* lú NI-lum-bal šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.2526 (Ibr.) obv. II’ 5’ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Iš-má-da-mu* šeš-II-ib; III 20ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN ^rEn¹-[na-]il *dumu-nita* EN-mar šeš-II-ib; V 14ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *In-gàr* [lú] *A-da-mu* šeš-II-ib; X 14ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *I-bí-zi-kir* *dumu-nita* *Ib-rí-um* šeš-II-ib
- 75.2588 (I.Z.) obv. III 2ff.: 2 íb. *Ru*₁₂-zi-ma-lik lú Ra-i-zú *Gú-ba-lum* lú *Du-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib dag_x 2 na₄ en
- 75.2623 (I.Z.) rev. II 1ff.: 9 ’à. 9 a. 9 íb. *U*₉-bí-a-nu lú *Ig-na-da-ar* *Sag-da-mu* Á-lu^{ki} *Iš-má-ma-lik* lú *I-bí-zi-kir* *En-na-ì* lú *I-ti-ì* *I-bí-iš-li-im* lú *En-na-ì* *En-na-BAD* lú Û-ba-an *Du-bí-ab* NE-a-ù^{ki} šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal” *A-ru*₁₂-ga-du^{ki} *Kéš-ma-lik* *I-ti-ki-da-mu* šeš:pa₄ ^dNI-da-“bal”; rev. III 12ff.: 2 íb. *Ìr-kab-ar* ’À-da-ša *Ar-ra*^{ki} šeš-II-ib kéš-da
- 75.2633 (Ibr.) obv. VII 4ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ar-si-a-ḥa* lú *In-na-ad* šeš-II-ib; obv. IX 5ff.: 8 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG* 8 íb. *Šu-ma-lik* *Puzur*₄-ra-ma-lik 2 *dumu-nita* *Iš*₁₁-da-mu *Iš-má-da-ba-an* lú *Iš-má-da-mu* *I-si-rúm* lú *Ib-gú-nu* *Ar-si-a-ḥa* lú *In-na-ad* *Íl-zi* lú *En-na-ni-il* EN-ga-da-ba-an lú *Iš*₁₁-gi-da-ar *En-na-ni-il* lú *Ša-ù-um* šeš-II-ib
- 75.2640(+) obv. IX 1ff.: 1 íb. ’À-da-ša *Du-bí* šeš-II-ib *in* ùsan ^dKu-ra
- 75.2649 (I.Z.) obv. IIff.: 2 íb. NI-wa lú *Iš-la-ì* *Iš*₁₁-ga-um lú *Iš*₁₁-da-mu šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.4153 I 1’ff.:] *Íl-ba-gú-nu* lú *Mu-gú* šeš-II-ib kéš-da [SA.ZA_x^{ki}]
- 75.4456(+) IV 2’ff.:] *Ra-t*[i-]bù šeš-II-ib nídba ^dUtu SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.4465 obv. II 1ff.: *Íl-ba-gú-nu*] lú *Mu-gú* *I-ti-lum* lú *Zú-za* šeš-II-ib; III 1ff.:] *Uš-ḥu-lum* šeš-II-ib kéš-da *áš-du* ^dAš-dar *Bir*₅-ra-ru₁₂^{ki}; IV 1ff.: *Íl*-[ba-gú-n]u lú *Mu-gú* ’À-téš lú *En-na-ì* šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.4487 II 2’: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *A-bur-da-ši-in* šeš-II-ib
- 75.5053 obv. II 1: *Íl-zi*] lú *Ìr-am*₆-ma-lik / šeš-II-ib / ^rkéš¹-da / [
- 75.5057 obv. I 1’ff.: 2 íb. NI-lum-BAL lú *Ìr-am*₆-ma-lik [] šeš-II-ib kéš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.5135 rev. I 1’ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *En-na-ì* lú *Mi-ga-ì* šeš-II-ib
- 75.5138+ IV 1’ff.:] *Iš-má-zi-kir* lú *I-bí-šum* *En-na-ì* lú EN-ga-ud šeš-II-ib kéš-da [
- 75.5240 obv. II 1’ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bí* lú *Du-bù-kam*₄ *Du-bí-ḥu-ma-lik* lú NI-BAD šeš-II-ib kéš-da *in* ud nídba [
- 75.5423 (I.Z.) obv. II 1’ff.:] *Kùn-da-ba-an* lú *Du-bí* ’À-da-ša lú *A-ti* šeš-II-ib *ir-mi*
- 75.5450 rev. II 1’ff.: 1 íb. A-NE-’à maškim *Ir-ti* níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ir-ti* šeš-II-ib [
- 75.5451 rev. III 1’ff.: [*Ru*₁₂-zi]-ma[-lik] lú *Du-ba-ù* *Íl-zi-kam*₄ *Bù-ma-ù* *Du-bí-šum* šeš-II-ib [
- 75.5472 II 1’ff.:] *wa Du-bí* šeš-II-ib šu-mu-nigin ^dNI-da-“bal”

- 75.5484 rev. II 1'ff.: 2 íb. *Íl-zi lú Iš₁₁-gú-nu wa Du-bí-ab Ša-na-ru₁₂-gú^{ki}* šeš-II-ib
kěš-da
- 75.5517 II 1'ff.: *Kak-m]i-um^{ki} níg-AN.AN.AN.AN en Kak-mi-um^{ki}* šeš-II-ib
- 75.5638 obv. II 1'ff.: [íb.] 'À-gi wa 'À-da-šè šeš-II-ib kěš-da
- 75.10019 (I.Z.) rev. VII 7ff.: 2 íb. *Ib-gi-da-mu wa* maškim 'À-gu-LUM šeš-II-ib
kěš-da in *Da-ra-um^{ki}*
- 75.10044 (I.Z.) obv. III 1'ff.: EN-[] wa *Dal-da-kam₄ lú Du-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib kěš-da
SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.10046 (Ar.) obv. X 6ff.: 2 íb. BÍL 'Áš¹-ba-il šeš-II-ib SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.10072 (I.Z.) rev. VII 21ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bí-zi-kir lú Rí-ga-gu wa Du-bí-z[i-kir lú X]*
šeš-II-ib kěš-da in ud nídba ^d*Ku-ra in Ba-lu-du^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti*
- 75.10076 (Ibr.) obv. II 3ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ib-rí-um Kùn-da-ba-an dumu-nita*
Ĥa-ra-il šeš-II-ib; V 9ff. níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *Ib-rí-um Û-ti* šeš-II-ib
- 75.10078 (Ibr.) obv. XIII 1ff.: 3 'à. 3 a. 3 íb. 1 kin siki 1 gír *I-bí-zi-kir* dumu-nita
Ib-rí-um wa En-na-il wa In-gàr šeš-II-ib; rev. VIff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN ama-gal
en *I-bí-zi-kir* šeš-II-ib
- 75.10082 (I.Z.) obv. VII 15ff.: 2 íb. *Bù-ga-núm Ab-ba* šeš-II-ib; rev. IV 11ff.: 24
íb-sa₆-TÚG 12 íb-TÚG šeš-II-ib-šeš-II-ib *mi-at-mi-at*
- 75.10121 (I.Z.) obv. III 1ff.: [2] íb. [A]-gú-šum *En-na-ì lú Ra-i-zu* šeš-II-ib kěš-da
[SA.Z]A_x^{ki}
- 75.10139 (I.Z.) obv. IV 4ff.: 2 íb. *Íl-ba-gú-nu lú Mu-gú Da-zi-ma-ad lú Mar-LUM*
šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.10140 (I.Z.) rev. VIII 1ff.: [2 1]b *Du-bù-ĥu-ma-lik lú NI-a-BAD 'À-zi lú*
Lá-a-LUM šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki} in ud nídba [
- 75.10155 (Ibr.) obv. V 1: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN *En-na-ni-il lú Rí-ì-ma-lik* šeš-II-ib;
rev. II 4ff.: níg-AN.AN.AN.AN en *I-bí-zi-kir* dumu-nita *Ib-rí-um* šeš-II-ib in
Zi-ti-ig^{ki}
- 75.10183 (Ibr.) obv. VII 1ff.: 2 íb 'À-zi lú *Lá-a-LUM En-na-ma-gú lú Puzur₄-ra*
šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.10185 (I.Z.) obv. IX 7ff.: 2 'à. 2 a. 2 íb. *Dab₆-da-ar En-na-ì lú I-ti-ì* šeš-II-ib in
Da₅-nu-gú^{ki}; rev. I 1ff.: 5 íb. *Ib-gi-da-mu 'À-da-ša I-šar NI-a-BAD 'À-nu-LUM*
šeš-II-ib kěš-da
- 75.10191 (I.Z.) obv. VI 14ff.: 2 íb. 'À-da-ša lú *Du-bí-zi-kir Bù-ga-nu lú Du-bí-zi-kir*
šeš-II-ib in nídba ^d*Ša-ma-gan*
- 75.10196 obv. IV èff.: 2 íb 'À-da-ša lú *Du-bí-zi-kir Du-bí lú Za-ĥa-li-a* šeš-II-ib
kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}
- 75.10248 (I.Z.) obv. III 1ff.: 2 *gu-zi-tum-TÚG 2 sal TÚG 2 íb. Ba-ga[-ma] Ma-gal*
šeš-II-ib *Me-tùm^{ki}*
- 75.10278 (I.Z.) obv. V 3ff.: 2 íb. *Du-bí wa NI-wa* šeš-II-ib kěš-da SA.ZA_x^{ki}

A Reconstruction of the History of Ebla (Part 2)

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

Addendum to Part 1, §5

In view of the close relationship between Ebla (of the age of archives) and the contemporaneous Mari, it should be noted that to the seven Mariote kings attested in Ebla texts must now be added an eighth one, the first to have waged war on Ebla. In his *editio princeps* of Enna-Dagan's letter (TM.75.G.2367), Pettinato read in its first section (obv. II:1) the same name (which he took for a verb), *sá-ù-mu*, as in its second and third sections (obv. II:13, IV:2). He was followed in this reading (if not in its interpretation) by other scholars who dealt with the text.¹ However, Pettinato himself, in preparing a new edition of Enna-Dagan's letter,² found that the word in question in section 1 has to be transliterated a-nu-du₁₁ (du₁₁ = KA). But his translation 'they [the previously mentioned cities] refused to furnish water' was so strange that no attention was paid to it until Alberti (and, independently, Archi) recognized it as the name of a Mariote king, which he read *a-nu-bu_x*.³ His choice of the value *bu_x* for the polyphone KA was motivated by his desire to identify this king with AN.BU, the first ruler of the Mari Dynasty in the Sumerian King List.⁴ In this, Alberti followed in the footsteps of Geller, who thought to discern among the badly mutilated vestiges of names of the other five kings of the Mari Dynasty some traces of royal Mariote names known from Ebla, though in a different sequence.⁵

Author's note: Part 1 of this study appeared under the title "An Outline of the History of Ebla" in *Eblaitica* 3.3–82 (and will be referred to hereinafter as "Part 1"). I have changed the title to "A Reconstruction of the History of Ebla," which fits better the character of this study. I begin with an addendum to Part 1, §5, and then I proceed with §§7–9.

1. Pettinato 1980; Kienast 1980, 1984; Edzard 1981b; Archi 1981c, 1985a; Part 1: 29–30.

2. Pettinato 1986: 395–97.

3. Alberti 1990; Archi 1990: 22: "The first king mentioned, *A-nu-KA*/^l*bù*." Also normalized "Anubu" in Archi 1991: 197–98.

4. Jacobsen 1939: 103, who read the name a-n-sud₄ and discussed its various other possible readings and identifications in n. 189. Cf. also Dossin apud Parrot 1965a: 12 n. 2; 1965b: 216; H. Lewy 1967: 14–15; Edzard 1967: 55 n. 6; Biggs 1967: 63 n. 3 (with additional literature); Parrot 1974: 28, 54, 56.

5. Geller 1987; see the objections by Michalowski 1992: 248.

But all speculations about correlating the Mari Dynasty of the Sumerian King List with the epigraphically attested pre-Sargonic kings of Mari were shattered by the discovery at Tell Leilan of an Old Babylonian recension of the Sumerian King List in which, unlike in the previously known recensions, all six names of the Mari Dynasty were undamaged.⁶ It turned out that none of the newly revealed names has any resemblance to the royal names inscribed on votive objects at Mari or mentioned in Ebla texts. The compilers of the Sumerian King List evidently had in mind some much earlier dynasty, perhaps a legendary one. There is therefore no need to transliterate the first royal name in the Enna-Dagan letter *A-nu-bu_x* in order to conform to the highly polyvalent AN.BU of the Sumerian King List. It may as well be written *A-nu-zú* or *A-nu-su₁₁* and equated with the name *Ha-nu-sum*, inscribed “in a beautiful archaic script” on a jar stopper excavated in the pre-Sargonic palace of Mari.⁷ Whatever the reading of his name, the presence of the newly recognized king in Enna-Dagan’s *aide-mémoire* on the Mariote-Eblean war extends its duration by at least a part of a generation.

The ultimate Eblean victory in the long war was commemorated in a monumental wall panel of inlaid marble figures, pieces of which have been recovered in the northern wing of an edifice on the western periphery of the Acropolis.⁸ It represents, in the style of Early Dynastic III, scenes of military triumph, including cut-off heads of enemies, Eblean soldiers conducting prisoners of war, and a massacre of naked prisoners. According to Matthiae, the panel, by its style, was executed a few decades before the destruction of the Royal Palace G. This agrees with the chronology of Ebla’s war with Mari.

7. *The Date of the Destruction of Palace G at Ebla*

When one speaks of Ebla, one usually has in mind the flourishing period of its history that is covered by its rich cuneiform archives.⁹ The study of its numerous texts published or cited by now has allowed us to form an approximate but progressively clearer image of the geographical extent of Ebla’s domination,¹⁰ of its economy, and of the outlines of its internal history. One of several controversial problems

6. This discovery was announced by Claudine-Adrienne Vincente (1990) and reported by her in detail at the national meeting of the American Oriental Society at Cambridge in March 1992. She kindly provided me with a copy of her paper and authorized me to quote it before its forthcoming publication, for which I am very grateful.

7. Parrot 1965a: 17; photograph of the inscribed jar stopper M.4253 on p. 18, fig. 6; 1974: 75. On the unlikelihood of seeing in *Ha-nu-sum* a variant of *Ansud (i.e., the same protean AN.BU), see Biggs 1967: 63 n. 3.

8. Reported by Matthiae 1989c: 32–45, pls. 1–4; 1990: 387–89, 392–99, 495 (with illustrations). The panel has been tentatively reassembled in the Ebla archaeological museum at Idlib.

9. A preliminary version of this chapter was read, in part, at the panel “New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria” of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 30, 1991, and was published, with other papers of the panel, in Chavalas and Hayes 1992 (see Astour 1992c in the bibliography below).

10. See Astour 1988 and the map in that publication.

in interpreting the written and material evidence of Ebla is the place of the period of archives within the absolute chronology on the ancient Near East. This is not a mere question of punctiliousness; without a convincing solution to the problem, one cannot obtain a correct notion of Ebla's interrelation with the states of Mesopotamia, in the first place with the Sargonic empire.

The age of the Ebla archives—or, in archaeological terms, the *Mardiḥ* IIB1 period—is coterminous with the existence of the great royal palace G. Its lower limit is the conflagration, total destruction, and abandonment of this palace. (This disaster saved for us the tablets stacked in the palace, which would have otherwise been dumped at the next renovation or rebuilding of the edifice.) The tablets were written during the reigns of *Igrīš-Ḥalam*, *Irkab-Damu*, and *Iš'ar-Damu* and the administration of their seconds-in-command (to whom *Archi* gave the conventional title “vizier”), *Arennum*, *Ibrium*, and *Ibbi-Zikir*.¹¹ These three reigns and tenures were not short ones, for they coincided with five, or at the least four and one-half, reigns at Mari. Moreover, both the last king of Ebla and his “vizier” had, toward the end of the period, adult sons who were groomed as their prospective successors. We are dealing, thus, with four generations—that is, from eighty to one hundred years.¹²

Another determinant is the certitude that the tablets of Ebla formed a “living” archive and not a “dead” one.¹³ There was no gap of any length between the time of the accumulation of the archival materials and the destruction of Palace G. Twenty-two large tablets, of the monthly report type, were found in the Court of Audiences on charred remains of wooden tables, on which they had been placed for drying prior to being transferred to one of the rooms of the palatial archives. They all come from the “vizierate” of *Ibbi-Zikir*, and their prosopography is not different from that of analogous documents already stacked inside the palace. This has been rightly stressed by *Matthiae* and *Archi*.¹⁴

The Ebla texts have yielded no datable synchronisms with Mesopotamian rulers attested in other cuneiform sources. Of the seven pre-Sargonic kings of Mari whose names appear in local inscriptions, only two—*Anusu* (*Ḥanusum*) and, prominently, *Iblul-II*—are mentioned at Ebla.¹⁵ But their chronological positions are not known,

11. The revised picture of Eblean kingship and vizierate at the time of the archives, due mainly to the analysis by *Archi* and *Pomponio*, is summarized in Part 1: 24–26.

12. See the synchronistic chart at the end of this section.

13. As noted by *Moorey* (1981: 448) with regard to the chronological correlation between Ebla and Mesopotamia, “the question to be answered is whether the Ebla archive was ‘living’ or ‘dead.’”

14. *Matthiae* 1985b: 39–40 (this article is said to be the translation of *Matthiae*'s paper at the symposium “La civiltà di Ebla: Archeologia e filologia,” Rome, spring of 1980. However, *Matthiae*'s article under the same title, published in Italian in the first part of the proceedings of that Symposium [*Matthiae* 1982d], differs considerably from the Russian text and does not contain the discussion of the tablets from the Court of Audiences and their importance for the chronology of the archive); *Archi* 1982: 204–5. Of the tablets from the Court of Audiences (L.2752), twenty-one have been published as *ARET* 8 (by *E. Sollberger*) and one as no. 4 of *ARET* 1 (by *A. Archi*).

15. The names of five of these—Iku-Šamaš, Lamgi-Mari (or Iški-Mari), Iku-Šamagan, AsuKU, and Iblul-II—are inscribed on objects found in the temple of Ištar (*Thureau-Dangin* 1934; *Parrot* 1956: 68–70) and in the temples of Ištarat and Ninni-Zaza (*Parrot* 1967, with a chapter on the inscriptions by *G. Dossin*, on pp. 307–31; a new edition by *M. Lambert* 1970). The name of a sixth, Ikum-Mari,

and it is, as a matter of fact, the Ebla documentation that establishes their places in the sequence of eight Mariote kings, six of whom are not mentioned in the epigraphic material of their own city or anywhere else. Nevertheless, the correlation of these kings with the history of Ebla is important in a broader chronological context.¹⁶

The palace has, however, yielded two inscribed imported objects that can be dated more securely. One of them is represented by two fragments of a diorite lamp bearing the name of King Chefred (Ḥ^{fr}) of the Fourth Dynasty, accompanied by his “Horus of Gold” name on one beak and his “Two Ladies” name on the other. The other object is the lid of an alabaster vessel with an inscription that includes the “Horus” name, the title “King of Upper and Lower Egypt,” and the personal name of Pepi I of the sixth dynasty. Both items were found in situ, on the pavement of the inner court of the Administrative Quarters, in undisturbed layers of the debris of the burned palace.¹⁷ What is their potential value for ascertaining the temporal parameter of Royal Palace G?

The late Ignace Gelb declared categorically: “The discovery of the inscription of Pepi I in the level in which the Ebla archive was found means nothing. It seems to me that archaeologists take too seriously the datings produced by philologists.” Quoting some of the proposed dates for Pepi I, Sargon, and Naram-Sin, he found them “all open to question.” Since the datings of both Pepi I and of Sargon and the Sargonic dynasty “may vary by at least as much as ± 50 years . . . with that much leeway . . . Pepi I could be synchronous with the Ebla archive of the Pre-Sargonic period.”¹⁸ Indeed, it would be easy, but methodologically wrong, to pick out, from unconnected chronological systems based on differing premises, such dates that appear convenient for one’s preferred synchronization. One has to be consistent and follow such chronologies for the countries of western Asia and for Egypt as are compatible with each other and with data of astronomy and archaeology. I have explained elsewhere in detail why I conclude that the compatible systems are the so-called low chronology for Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia, and the Memphite chronology, based on the dates of heliacal risings of Sirius as observed from Memphis, for Egypt.¹⁹

appears in an archaic inscription on a votive vessel published by Fales (1984); for a seventh, Hanu-sum/Anusu, see the addendum to §5, above. Their sequence is uncertain.

16. On the relations between Mari and Ebla during the period of archives, see Archi 1981c, 1985a, 1985b; on the kings of Mari involved in wars against Ebla, Edzard 1981b (with the change discussed in the addendum to §5, above); on the peripeties of these wars, Part I: 26–51.

17. Matthiae 1978: 229–34; 1981:9; 1989b: 163–64; Scandone Matthiae 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1988. I leave aside the question whether the titles of Pepi I on the Tell Mardih lid point to the making of the vase during the first thirty years of that king’s reign, as stated by Scandone Matthiae (1979a: 40) and Matthiae (1989b: 164), for it could have been brought to Ebla years after it was made.

18. Gelb 1981: 58–59.

19. Astour 1989a: 1–12. There are no Sothic dates prior to the Twelfth Dynasty, but by using the available figures for earlier reigns and the dynastic overlaps during the First Intermediate Period, and reckoning back from the start of the Twelfth Dynasty, it is possible to obtain fairly close dates for the Old Kingdom. See Hayes (1970), whose Egyptian chronology is based on Memphite reckoning and whose dates for Pepi I’s reign are accepted here. For the proposal by O’Mara (1980), on the basis of his new reconstruction of the Turin Canon and a dubious Sothis date for Pepi I, to heighten all the dates of the Old Kingdom by 144 years, see the pertinent objection by Matthiae (1984b: 36).

The reign of Chefredjeh falls in the second third of the twenty-sixth century, and that of Pepi I was approximately between 2333 and 2283, while the ascent to power of Sargon, as obtained by dead reckoning from the last years of the Third Dynasty of Ur, would be 2267 or 2270.²⁰ Of the two datings provided by the Egyptian inscriptions found in Palace G, the date of Chephren is important only as a testimony to some kind of link—probably indirect—between northern Syria and Egypt, which does not surprise us, for the long interrupted importation of lapis lazuli to Egypt is known to have resumed during the Fourth Dynasty.²¹ But it cannot be used as a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of Palace G, as argued by Pettinato,²² because this palace was preceded on the Acropolis by several phases of a palatial building that accommodated earlier kings of the same dynasty.²³ It was to one of the earlier structures that the diorite lamp was brought, and it was transferred to the new palace, as a valuable exotic artifact, along with other furnishings, when the royal family moved into its new residence.

Option a: Destruction ca. 2500

Conversely, the alabaster lid with the name of Pepi I is an incontrovertible *terminus post quem* for the conflagration of Palace G. Its presence there totally refutes Pettinato's high dating for this event: 2500, first advanced in 1977.²⁴ He repeated it two years later with the specification that "the Dynasty of Ebla was contemporaneous with the First Dynasty of Kiš (2600–2500 B.C.)" and the remark that in one Ebla text (TM.75.G.1435) "one finds a person with the singular name *me-sa-li-ma* which cannot fail to recall the homonymous king of Kiš."²⁵ Kienast misunderstood this remark in the sense that Pettinato had actually found a mention of *Me-sa-li-ma* lugal Kiš^{ki} 'Mesalim, king of Kiš' at Ebla.²⁶ However, Archi showed that the name in question was actually *Bar-za-ma-li*.²⁷ In the passage cited in n. 22 above, Pettinato tried to remove the testimony of Pepi I's vase by the assumption that it may have somehow penetrated into the ruins of Palace G from a higher stratum, as, according to him, did the Middle Babylonian letter TM.76.G.412, which was allegedly found beneath the palace levels. But the debris levels in which the lid of Pepi I's vase was located were undisturbed; and, as for the Middle Babylonian tablet, its publisher stated clearly that "it was found on the slopes of the Acropolis of Tell Mardikh, above the ruins of the Royal Palace G (Early Bronze IVA), among the debris of Middle Bronze levels."²⁸

20. Cf. Part 1: 3, author's note.

21. Cf. Payne 1968. Lapis lazuli could reach Egypt only via Syria.

22. Introduction to MEE 1 xxxvii–xxxviii.

23. Matthiae 1987: 136–38; Part 1: 19.

24. Pettinato 1977: 233. This dating was shared by Biggs 1980: 81, less definitely ("around 2500 or 2400 B.C."); 1982: 14; Picchioni 1981: 117 (contemporary with the period of Abu Šalābiḥ); and Owen and Veenker 1987: 264–65 and nn. 9–12.

25. Pettinato 1979a: 80–81.

26. Kienast 1980: 247–48.

27. Archi 1981d.

28. Kupper 1980: 49.

Pettinato repeated at length his argumentation for a higher chronology of Ebla in his new book²⁹ (including the alleged *Me-sa-li-ma*) but with this curious addition:

If, instead, Ebla was destroyed later, around 2400, then it would be necessary to assume other Mesopotamian rulers as perpetrators of the destruction of Royal Palace G, for instance Eannatum of Lagaš who boasted of having conquered both Kiš and Mari, or else Lugalzagesi of Uruk who . . . had extended his dominion as far as the Mediterranean Sea.³⁰

This is a very broad chronological margin. While Eannatum reigned, in terms of middle chronology, from 2454 to 2425, the beginning of Lugalzagesi's reign took place 100 years after the accession of Eannatum, almost 50 years after 2400. By his acceptance of Lugalzagesi as a possible contemporary of the last years of the Ebla archives, Pettinato (perhaps without giving much thought to it) tacitly agreed with the conclusion made by Sollberger, based on his analysis of the Eblean script: "The period of Lugal-zage-si and of the first Sargonic rulers would provide a most plausible date for the Ebla archives,"³¹ though only a few pages earlier,³² he chided Matthiae for "blindly relying" on Sollberger in questions of palaeography. As for Eannatum, he claimed a victory over Mari (among several other enemies), but the city was never destroyed during the Early Dynastic period.³³ Why would he have destroyed the much more remote Ebla which, to boot, was itself engaged at that time in a war against Mari and was de facto his ally?

But, even if Pepi I's lid had not been found, Pettinato's dates for the end of the archives, thus of Mardīh IIB1 period, would still be untenable. Palaeographic reasons for attributing the Ebla tablets to the end of the Early Dynastic IIIB have already been presented by competent scholars.³⁴

To this should be added the following historical consideration. As mentioned above, Iblul-II is the only pre-Sargonic king of Mari attested in local inscriptions whose name also appears in Ebla texts.³⁵ This means, as correctly observed, that the

29. Pettinato 1986: 107–20.

30. Ibid., 120.

31. Sollberger 1982b: 225.

32. Pettinato 1986: 115.

33. Parrot (1974: 87), speaking of the two successive Early Dynastic palaces: "One notices nothing in the level which separates them. No trace of violent destruction, no layer of fire."

34. Gelb 1977: 5–9; 1981: 57–58; 1992: 122 ("the Ebla archive is to be dated to the Pre-Sargonic period, with the proviso that 'Pre-Sargonic' extends in time to include the early years of Sargon"); Sollberger 1982b (see n. 31 above); Edzard 1984: 101 ("the writing system of Ebla from the 25th–24th century B.C."); the expression "century," in singular, applies here to a period of one hundred years covering the latter part of the twenty-fifth century and the earlier part of the twenty-fourth century (middle chronology), ending, thus, shortly before the rise of Sargon; von Soden 1988: 325 ("the earlier date [of the destruction of Royal Palace G] about 2280 [low chronology] is also confirmed by the archaic aspect of the Ebla script"); Krebern timer 1985 (the script of Ebla is pre-Sargonic).

35. I have also suggested that another Early Dynastic name from Mari, Ḫanusum, recurs in Enna-Dagan's letter as Anusu. However, since this equation depends on the reading of a polyphone, and the observation cited below was made before his mention in the Enna-Dagan letter was detected, I set him aside at this juncture.

other five kings of that group preceded him.³⁶ The inscribed statue with the name of one of them, Lamgi-Mari, has been attributed by Thureau-Dangin to the time of Ur-Nanše, the founder of the First Dynasty of Lagaš,³⁷ and, as far as I know, this attribution still stands.³⁸ This provides for a relatively close link with the history of Lagaš, which is well known and serves as a chronological yardstick for the Early Dynastic III period.³⁹ It is agreed that the interval between the accession of Ur-Nanše and the destruction of Lagaš by Lugalzagesi amounted to approximately 150 years.⁴⁰ The reign of Lugalzagesi overlapped with the early reign of Sargon. On this basis, using the middle chronology followed by Pettinato and the date of 2334 accepted by him for the rise to power of Sargon,⁴¹ one obtains 2494, or in round figures 2500, for the beginning of Ur-Nanše's rule.

Now, this is Pettinato's preferred date for the end of the Ebla archives. But Lamgi-Mari, if he was a contemporary of Ur-Nanše, belongs to the decades after 2500, and even if one admits that he was the latest of Iblul-II's predecessors attested at Mari, he was still separated from him by three kings (Anusu, Sa'umu, and Ištup-Šar) and was followed by four other kings (Nizi, Enna-Dagan, Iku-(I)šar, and Ḫidar), which we know from Enna-Dagan's letter and from a great number of references in Ebla texts.⁴² Ḫidar sat on the throne of Mari at the moment of the catastrophe of Royal Palace G; hence, only part of his reign coincided with the period of the Ebla archives. It is also known that the reign of Nizi was much shorter than average.⁴³ We may thus estimate that the joint reign of the nine Mariote kings from the accession of Lamgi-Mari to the destruction of Royal Palace G was comparable in length to that of the contemporaneous nine rulers of Lagaš. This pulls down the terminal year of Palace G not only well below Pettinato's preferred date of 2500 but even below his lowest limit of 2400, even if one follows the middle chronology.

Option b: Destruction by Naram-Sin

A very different dating for the destruction of Palace G and for the city of Ebla was originally advanced by Pettinato (a year before he changed his mind)⁴⁴ and by

36. Archi 1985a: 49.

37. Thureau-Dangin 1934: 140–42.

38. Cf. Strommenger 1960: 24, 27; Moortgat 1969: 38, 64.

39. The dates of the rulers of Lagaš followed here are those used by Sollberger and Kupper 1972 but converted (unless stated otherwise) to low chronology by lowering them by 64 years.

40. 152 years according to the dates in Sollberger and Kupper 1971; 150 years according to the calibrated synchronistic chart in Strommenger 1960, table 16.

41. Pettinato 1986: 56; on the previous page he cites the dates of the rulers of Lagaš, Eannatum and Enannatum I, which are also the dates used by Sollberger and Kupper 1971.

42. Edzard 1981b; Archi 1985a.

43. As noted by Archi (1985a: 47), "NI-zi probably had a rather short reign, in any case much less long than that of Iblul-II: the quantities of gold and silver attributed to him [as installments of Ebla's indemnity to Mari] represent only 1/5 and 1/7 of those attributed to Iblul-II."

44. Pettinato 1976: 47–48: "... only under Naram-Sin did Akkad recover well enough to defeat the Eblaites and finally to destroy Ebla itself. Naram-Sin could well boast of this exploit, whose significance can only now be fully appreciated," and similarly in his contribution to *RLA* 5.9.

Matthiae (who adhered to it longer)—namely, that it was “very probably the work of Naram-Sin of Akkad, around 2250 B.C.”⁴⁵

As an archaeologist, Matthiae adduced some ceramic and artistic evidence in support of his dating, but his principal reason was, of course, the seemingly plain assertion of Naram-Sin himself that, with the help of gods, he had defeated Armanum and Ebla and captured Riš-Adad, king of Armanum.⁴⁶ This notwithstanding, other authors have indicated that such dating is excluded not only by the paleography of the Ebla texts but also, and most importantly, by their contents.⁴⁷ They reflect a world that is sharply different from the era of Naram-Sin. There is not a hint of the Sargonic empire or even of Akkad itself. Ebla deals with the independent kingdoms of Mari, Kiš, and Nagar which, under Naram-Sin, were parts of his centralized domain. After the destruction of Mari by Sargon, it was restored by one of his successors (perhaps Maništusu) and was administered by a succession of military governors (*šakkanakku*) appointed by the kings of Akkad and “not linked in any way to the rulers of Mari attested by the Ebla texts or by the royal statues found at Mari itself.”⁴⁸ One aspect of Naram-Sin’s control of Mari was the appointment of two of his daughters to priestly offices there, as attested by inscribed bronzes uncovered at Mari.⁴⁹

45. Matthiae 1981: 53 and elsewhere in the book, most categorically on pp. 9–10: “Any dating of the destruction to the Early Dynastic Period . . . any date of the pre-Sargonic age, is therefore [because of Pepi I’s lid] excluded.” Already in Matthiae 1976b: 98 it is said: “It is likely that Naram-Sin of Akkad, who boasts in his triumphal inscriptions of the conquest of Armanum and Ebla . . . was responsible for the destruction of Building G.” The dating was accepted by Moorey 1981: 448; Otten: 1984b: 54; and Diakonoff 1983: 250; 1985: 335.

46. UET 1 275 = Hirsch 1963: 73–77 (Narām-Sin b 5); Foster 1982b; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 253–64 (Narāmsin C 5); Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 107–8 (II A 4 e). I agree with Sollberger (p. 108 note e) that “the description of a fortification . . . no longer belongs to the inscription,” as against the hypothesis of Kraus 1948, followed by Foster 1982b and Gelb and Kienast 1990: 263–64, that *Si-ku-ma-nūm*^{ki} is the copyist’s mistake for **Ar-ma-nūm*^{ki} and that the measurements of the city’s walls are those of Armanum captured by Naram-Sin. In fact, (a) SI-KU does not much resemble AR in either Sargonic or Old Babylonian script, (b) it is incredible that the scribe who had six times correctly copied the sign AR in the name *Armanum* should have grossly misread it the seventh time, and (c) the description ends with the words (VI:18–19): “What is upon the side of the great statue of Sin-Iribam,” which means, *prima facie*, that the Old Babylonian scribe, after having copied the inscription on a statue of Naram-Sin, continued on the same tablet with a copy of the inscription on a statue of Sin-Iribam, the tenth king of the Larsa Dynasty, and it is to him that the conquest of the otherwise unknown Sikuamanum (or Sikumalum) should be attributed. Besides UET 1 275, a votive stone mace, dedicated by one of Naram-Sin’s officials, extols the king as “the smiter of Armanum and Ebla and Elam” (M. Lambert 1968: 85). The title “smiter of Armanum and Ebla” appears in two short vase inscriptions (Thureau-Dangin 1907: 166–67; cf. Hirsch 1963: 18 §6).

47. In the beginning of the decipherment of Ebla tablets, when both their contents and spelling peculiarities were yet insufficiently known, it was thought that Akkad (Agade) appears in them as *A-EN-ga-du*^{ki}, to be understood as *A-ga-du:EN*^{ki} ‘Agade of the King’ and Sargon as *Ša-ri-gi-nu* (Matthiae 1976a: 211; 1976b: 109; 1977a: 168; 1981: 166–68). A careful examination proved that the place-name was actually written *A-ru₁₂-ga-tū*^{ki}, borne by a town directly subordinated to Ebla, and that the personal name was *Ša-nam-gi-nu*. The two equations were withdrawn by Pettinato (1979a: 80 and 124 n. 24) and by Matthiae (after an attempt to defend them in 1977b: 253) in 1978: 235 and the preface (dated September 1979) to 1981.

48. Durand 1985, esp. pp. 154 and 158.

49. Parrot 1974: 22, 90.

Kiš, rebuilt by Sargon, became part of the Akkad Empire; the Old Akkadian texts found at Kiš and the nearby Umm el-Ğir are written in standard Sargonic script and dialect.⁵⁰ The belief that Kiš continued to have its own kings during the reign of Sargon is an aberration based on the annotation in the Sumerian King List that Sargon, in his youth, served as a cupbearer to Ur-Zababa. This annotation was borrowed from one of the many legends about Sargon, and Ur-Zababa is clearly a mythical character, as shown by the reign of 400 years attributed to him; see the evaluation of another legend that brings together Ur-Zababa, Lugalzagesi, and Sargon by its publishers as invented.⁵¹ As for Nagar, it appears (as NAGAR^{ki}) in two administrative Sargonic tablets,⁵² and its name may be restored in a Sargonic tablet from Tell Brak,⁵³ attributable, with other tablets of the same level, to the reign of Naram-Sin. It lists corvée workers from a number of towns, all of which were located in the eastern part of the Ḥabūr Triangle, close to Naram-Sin's palace at Tell Brak. The damaged second sign of the toponym was read *hur*¹ by Kessler,⁵⁴ thus yielding the name of the well-known city of Naḥur in the northwestern corner of the Ḥabur Triangle. The sign can, however, as easily be restored *gàr*, as in *Na-gàr*^{ki} of the Ebla texts and in the archaic Hurrian inscription of Tiš-atal, ruler of Urgiš,⁵⁵ which would fit the geographical context of the tablet even better.

Moreover, it must be stated that Naram-Sin's Ebla, always mentioned together with Armanum, is in all likelihood not the north Syrian Ebla at all.⁵⁶ There also existed a Transtigradian city by that name, attested (sometimes in composite or ethnic formations) during Old Akkadian through Neo-Assyrian times.⁵⁷ Indicative of its location are the Nippur geographical list, which places *Eb-la*^{ki} among cities of the Transtigris,⁵⁸ and the unmistakable contexts of its Middle and Neo-Assyrian appearances⁵⁹ and, especially, a passage in the geographical treatise known as "The Empire

50. Gelb 1981: 67–68.

51. Cooper and Heimpel 1983: 68–69, 74.

52. CT 1 BU.91-5-9 588:obv. 7 and 590:rev. 2.

53. F.1153:2, first published by Gadd 1940: pl. 5; and later, in a collated copy, by Loretz 1969b: pl. 35 no. 69.

54. Kessler 1984: 22.

55. See Part 1: 62–63 and n. 379.

56. I have already made brief statements to this effect, in another connection, in Astour 1978b: 4 n. 28; 1981b: 14 n. 19, 15 n. 21, 16.

57. The "canal of Ebla" in a Sargonic and two Ur III texts was located in the province of Umma (see Part 1: 12). Sargonic references to the Transtigradian Ebla are: *Tu-tu šu Eb-la-i-t[im]* in a text from the Diyala Valley, Gelb 1952 (MAD 1) 52:II':3'–4'; *Dur-Eb-la*^{ki}, Nikol'skij 1915: no. 10:3; *Maš-gan-BÀD-Eb-la* HSS 10 1 (geographical map from Gasur). Ur III references: see *RGTC* 2:35 s.v. *Dūr-Ebla*; and Sigrist 1979: 166, line 18. It is generally assumed, following Meek (preface to HSS 10 xviii), that *Dur-Ebla* became *Durubla* in the Nuzi texts; a full list of its occurrences is given in the editorial addendum to Millard 1981: 438 n. 5.

58. MSL 11:104, no. 272, preceded by Simurru, Anšan, KAS₄^{ki}, and Ibratum, and followed by Diniktu, Neribtu, ABZU^{ki}, Maḥili, Abarnium, and Laban-e.

59. The LUGAL ^{uru}*Eb-li-ta-ta-e*, mentioned in KAV 107:8 in connection with ^{uru}*Ki-li-zi* (frequent in Middle Assyrian administrative texts, identical with Neo-Assyrian Kalzi, now Qaṣr Šamamuk west of Irbil; cf. *RGTC* 5:167), and the goddess ^d*Eb-la-i-tu*, III R 66:rev. d:20, are of course connected with the Transtigradian and not with the Syrian Ebla, which is still claimed in certain publications. The

of Sargon of Akkad,” basically a copy of an Old Babylonian composition but with interpolations and additions that reflect the time of Assurbanipal.⁶⁰ There, in the enumeration of Transjordanian countries, which proceeds from north to south, one finds after Arrapha and Lulubu and before Akkad (here the Diyala Valley) and Gutium the entry “from Ebla to Bīt-Nanib is the land of the Armanians.”⁶¹

We see here the same close connection between Armanum and Ebla, as in Naram-Sin’s inscriptions. Ebla is the border town of a region named for its capital, Armanum. For Naram-Sin, Armanum is the more important of the two. It alone has a king, Riš-Adad, whose defeat and capture is Naram-Sin’s main title to glory.⁶²

This was not the situation in northern Syria of the late third millennium, when Ebla dominated the region. To eliminate the discrepancy, Matthiae asserted that “it appears very probable that Armanum of the Akkadian inscriptions was Armi of the Eblaite inscriptions, and Armi, especially in the latest documents of Ibbi-Sipish [i.e., Ibbi-Zikir], appears clearly as the first city of the kingdom after Ebla.”⁶³ Armi was frequently mentioned in Ebla texts, but it was one of the 60-odd vassal city-states of Ebla, among the 20 or so more prominent ones but by no means outstanding in comparison with the rest.

The Transjordanian Arman(um) is attested in other cuneiform sources. The Ur III references to the military colony at Arman⁶⁴ only show evidence that the place was, at that time, part of the directly administered territory of the kingdom (which excluded Syria); however, its appearances in late-second-millennium records allow for a more specific location. The city, called at that time Arman of Ugar-Sali, stood north of Mount Ebīḥ (Ġebel Ḥamrīn), south of the Little Zab, and west of Lubdi (near Ṭāwūq) and the Radanu River (‘Uzaym and the middle of its headwater streams, Ṭāwūq Çay).⁶⁵ It is no mere coincidence that Hildegard Lewy, proceeding from the

Neo-Assyrian deed of land sale, ARU 145, deals with a lot between the roads to ^{uru}*Eb-li* and to ^{uru}*Su-mur-u-nu* (= ^{uru}*Ši-me-ru-un-ni* at Nuzi, Fisher 1959: no. 539; and *Ši-me-er-ri-ni*^{ki} at Šušarrā, SH 876:11 in Laessøe 1959) and located near ^{uru}*Eb-ʾa-la* (= Ur III *šà-E-ba-al*^{ki}, *RGTC* 2:38).

60. KAV 92, published and commented upon by Weidner 1953. A Neo-Babylonian copy of the same work, which continues the text of KAV 92 for 17 more lines (mostly damaged) but lacks its first 22 lines, was published and integrated with the Neo-Assyrian copy by Grayson 1977. Why I ascribe the final redaction of the treatise to the time of Assurbanipal is irrelevant for the present topic, for the passage to be considered belongs to the Old Babylonian core. Reasons for locating Armanum in the Transjordan were presented by Güterbock 1934: 73–75.

61. TA *Eb-lá* EN *É-Na-ni-ip* KUR *Ar-ma-ni-i* (line 13). Bīt-Nanip is otherwise unknown, but the onomastic element *nanip* is found in several Hurrian personal names, mainly at Nuzi (*NPN* 237–38).

62. Riš-Adad may or may not have been the king of Ebla as well, but the rendering of *Ri-ID-ʾIM* LUGAL *Ar-ma-nim*^{ki} (Hirsch 1963, text b 5:III:28–30) as ‘Rishʿ-Adad, king of Armanum and Ebla’, not in a commentary but in the body of the translation itself (Foster 1982: 32), transcends the limit of translative license.

63. Matthiae 1976a: 212–13; 1981: 177.

64. *RGTC* 2:15 (two mentions of *erīn-Ar-ma-an*^{ki}).

65. See the itinerary of Tiglath-pileser I’s expedition against Babylonia (Weidner 1958: 350–51, lines 37–39; *ARI* 2: §98) and the demarcation between Adad-narāri I of Assyria and Nazimurattaš of Babylonia in the Synchronistic History (Grayson 1975, Chronicle 21:i:24’–31’; *ARI* 2: §52); cf. Nashef’s

topographic data of a local map excavated in Sargonic Gasur (later Nuzi), pinpointed the site of Maškan-Dūr-Ebla (“the settlement of the fortress of Ebla”) right within the area of the Ugar-Sali district.⁶⁶

It is true, of course, that Naram-Sin’s quoted record couples the conquest of Armanum and Ebla with, the first time, “Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, and the Upper Sea” and, the second time, with “from the bank of the Euphrates to Ulisum” and then mentions again “Amanus, the Cedar Mountain.” But this does not necessarily mean that all of these places belonged to the same region. The two sets of geographical names are, rather, put in apposition to demonstrate Naram-Sin’s victories both in the east and the west. We see that Naram-Sin’s goal in the west was Mt. Amanus, with its cedar forests. To reach it, he must have crossed the Euphrates where it was nearest to the range. One may suppose that Naram-Sin’s expedition to Syria originated at Tell Brak, where he had built a palace as his headquarters for operations in the north, and headed west across Upper Mesopotamia via Mardaman, one of the fortified cities between the upper reaches of the Ḥabūr and the Balīḥ of the Sargonic era, for the conquest of which a year of Naram-Sin’s reign was named.⁶⁷ I locate Ulisum, the farthest point of his penetration, on the Gulf of Iskenderun, below the western slope of the Amanus.⁶⁸ These places are quite distant from the city of Ebla–Tell Mardīḥ.⁶⁹

commentary, *RGTC* 5:218 (s.v. Pīlasqī) and 270 (s.v. Ugār-Sallu), as well as the locations of these places on his map, *ibid.* The list of conquests by Šilhak-Inšušinak, king of Elam, mentions the city ^{AS}*U-qa-ar-si-il-la-am-ni E-pe-eḥ* as the place where he had installed an administrator over a district that included several towns known from Nuzi texts and other sources relating to the area northwest of the Diyala (König 1965, text 54 §37); the continuation of the list (§40) includes Arrapha and Nuza (Nuzi). The Elamite appellation proves that Ugar-Sali abutted Mt. Ebīḥ (Ġebel Ḥamrīn).

66. H. Lewy 1968: 159. She identified the body of water near which the Gasur map placed Maškan-Dūr-Ebla with the large swamp east of the Qāḍah Çay, the westernmost of the streams that join to form the ʿUzaym, and north of the Ġebel Ḥamrīn. For her topographic interpretation she relied on the map 1:400,000 issued by the German General Staff in 1917 (1968: 154 n. 30). I checked her data on the British one-quarter inch map of Iraq, sheet no. 2A: Kirkuk.

67. Mu *Na-ra-am*-^dEN.ZU *Ma-ri-da-ba-an*^{ki} mu.ḥul.a (Hirsch 1963: 22 n. 228), reading corrected by Grayson and Sollberger (1976: 125); Gelb and Kienast (1990, D-9, Narāmsīn 3). Glassner (1985: 120) transliterated, for some reason, *Ma-ri-ba-da-an*^{ki}. On the probable general location of Mardaman and its oblique occurrence in an Ebla text, see briefly Part 1: 64 n. 392.

68. Ulisum is, of course, not Ullaza, a city known from Egyptian sources and Amarna letters to have been situated in the middle part of the Phoenician coast. The identification was suggested (S. Smith in UET 1 80; Bottéro in Drower and Bottéro 1971: 324; Gadd 1971: 442) merely because of onomastic resemblance. Ulisum should instead be identified with Ulizina (or Ulizila) in the Idrimi inscription from Alalah (Dietrich and Loretz 1981: 206, line 68); on its location, see Astour 1971: 10–11; 1989a: 20, 91 n. 125; 1997b: 22–23.

69. At this point, I intended to include a section concerning a recently revealed but damaged year name of Naram-Sin, published by A. Westenholz 1987: 40–41, no. 16 iv:1–8, that mentions, among other things, felling cedars in what Westenholz restored as [KUR *La-a*]b-na-an “Mount Lebanon.” Anticipating a possible argument that, if Naram-Sin could march all the way to Mount Lebanon, he could well have taken and destroyed Ebla, I tried to show that the restoration of the broken sign as [a]b is not the only possibility and that the rest of the year name points to Naram-Sin’s activity in the Zagros rather than in the Lebanon. However, the excursus was too long and too loosely connected with the history of Ebla, so I decided against it.

Option c: Destruction by Sargon

Even without these historicogeographical considerations, the attribution of Ebla's destruction to Naram-Sin has by now faded. It is Sargon who is increasingly seen as the perpetrator,⁷⁰ and Matthiae, who originally preferred Naram-Sin, has concluded a detailed discussion of the problem with this statement: "actually the attribution of the destruction of Mardikh IIB1 to Sargon of Akkad is unanimously hinted at by all the data, as being the most probable, and the one which presents less difficulties."⁷¹ However, difficulties, though few in number, do remain—and serious ones at that.

Sargon's inscription mentioning Ebla clarifies for us that his expedition to the north came after his conquest of Sumer.⁷² This statement follows: "Sargon the king, in Tuttul before Dagan he bowed down (and) prayed. The Upper Land he gave him: Mari, Yarmuti, Ebla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountains." The enumeration follows the geography of the king's march. It is clear from the wording of the text that Tuttul (Du₈-du₈-¹li^{ki}.a of the Sumerian version, in *Tu-tu-li*^{ki} of the Akkadian version) lay closer to Akkad than Mari, for the conquest of Mari, Yarmuti, and Ebla is represented as the result of Sargon's prayer to Dagan at Tuttul and the god's granting to him these countries. It was therefore generally assumed that the Tuttul in question was the same as [*Tu*]-ul-tu-ul^{ki} (first sign restored from the appearance of the toponym in another similar text), which the geographical list KAV 183 (MSL 11:35, line 23) identifies with ^{uru}I-*i-tu*ID—that is, modern Hit, on the right bank of the lower Middle Euphrates. The identifications of KAV 183 are not always completely accurate, but at least the text equates localities that were close to each other.

70. Gelb 1981: 58: "If there is any chance of connecting Ebla with the Sargonic Dynasty, then it is only with the early years of Sargon." Archi (1985a: 49–50) leans toward accepting Sargon as "the foreign element which provoked vast destructions like those that took place at Mari and Ebla"; Postgate (1986: 68) wrote, "I would prefer to assign the destruction to Naram-Sin's grandfather, Sargon," but he did not exclude other causes (see n. 116 below); von Soden 1988: 325 on who had destroyed Palace G, Sargon or Naram-Sin: "I think with others that it could be only the former"; A. Westenholz 1988:99: "The date of the Ebla archive cannot as yet be fixed accurately, but everything points to the end of the Pre-Sargonic era and perhaps the beginning of Sargon's reign," without explicitly ascribing the destruction of Palace G to Sargon.

71. Matthiae 1988: 78. He reached this conclusion after holding the position for awhile that either of the two kings could have destroyed Mardikh IIB1 (see Matthiae 1984b: 36; 1985a: 137). He firmly attributed the destruction to Sargon in Matthiae 1989a: 241–43, 302; and 1989b.

72. Hirsch 1963: 37–39, text Sargon b 2; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 163–67, text Sargon C-2. It is an Old Babylonian copy of a bilingual inscribed on a statue of Sargon in Nippur. The inscription begins with the declaration that Sargon had fought 34 battles and destroyed city walls all the way to the sea-coast. This refers to his victories over Lugalzagesi, Ur, Umma, and Lagaš and his reaching the Persian Gulf—successes described at greater length in some of his other inscriptions (e.g., Hirsch 1963: 34–37, text Sargon b 1; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 157–62, text Sargon C-1). An exact chronology of Sargon's expedition to the northwest cannot be established. Relying in this respect on the much later "Chronicle of Early Kings" (Grayson 1975, Chronicle 20; translation by Oppenheim 1955: 267–68), which dates the conquest of "the land of the sunset" to Sargon's eleventh year, or on the related Omens Collection (in King 1907: 2.25–45), which adds an expedition to the same region in Sargon's third year, is unwarranted. Works that make Naram-Sin Sargon's son and successor could not have used genuine historical material from the Sargonic period. Besides, Sargonic kings did not number their regnal years.

Kupper⁷³ related some Mariote references to Tuttul, not to the better-known Tuttul at the confluence of the Balīḥ with the Euphrates, but to a “town near Hīt, on the Euphrates” (where it is associated with Yabliya, Ḥarbē, Id, and Rapiqum).

More recently, Mayer and Charpin⁷⁴ denied the existence of the southern Tuttul. However, besides the plain sense of Sargon’s quoted inscription and the awkwardness of taking the Tuttul of the pertinent Mari texts out of its geographical context, there are other proofs that there really was a Tuttul on the lower Middle Euphrates: (a) The letter UCP 9/4 29 from Sin-muballiṭ (who, as admitted by Mayer,⁷⁵ could only be the Babylonian king, father of Ḥammurapi) states that its sender had repeatedly asked the ruler of Tuttul (*Du₈-du-li^{ki}*, line 5) to send troops to his assistance; this can only refer to a state abutting the kingdom of Babylon in its pre-Ḥammurapi borders and not to the distant Tuttul-on-the-Balīḥ, which, by the way, did not even have a king after it was annexed by Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari, Sin-muballiṭ’s contemporary. (b) In Naram-Sin’s authentic inscription on the copper statue found at Bas-setki,⁷⁶ the group of gods invoked consists of Iṣtar in Eanna (Uruk), Enlil in Nippur, Dagan in Tuttul (*in Tu-tu-li^{ki}*), Ninḥursag in Keš, Enki in Eridu, Sin in Ur, Šamaš in Sippar, and Nergal in Cutha. The southern Tuttul is perfectly in place among the cities of Sumer and Akkad, which cannot be said about its northern homonym. (c) Besides the already quoted KAV 183, the other three geographical lists in MSL 11 that mention Tuttul (*Tu-ul-tu-ul^{ki}*, *Tu-tūl^{ki}*)⁷⁷ group it with cities of Akkad and Sumer, each time in a different assortment, which excludes an error that was mechanically repeated. (d) More generally, these and all other geographical lists collected in MSL 11 include only towns of Babylonia (Sumer and Akkad) and the Transtigris south of the Little Zab. Even Mari in these lists, to judge from its constant geographical associations, is not the famous city on the Euphrates but the homonymous Transtigris entity in KAV 92:23⁷⁸ and the Nuzi texts.⁷⁹ Therefore, the Tuttul that is listed in MSL 11 can only be the southern Tuttul.⁸⁰

The next country mentioned is Mari, which needs no commentary, followed by Yarmuti. At the time of the Ebla archives, both Mari and Ebla controlled large territorial domains that may be called “empires,” and they adjoined each other on the middle Euphrates. There was no room between them for a third state. Hence Yarmuti, which by its association with Mari and Ebla was also a country, must have been located aside from the Euphrates route and in all likelihood corresponded to the Ḥabūr Triangle, a thickly settled and wealthy region and an attractive prospect for tribute and loot. Besides the reference in Sargon’s inscription, a place-name similar

73. In ARMT 16/1 36, s.v. *Tuttul*.

74. Mayer 1987: 141; Charpin 1989.

75. Mayer 1987: 137.

76. Al-Fouadi 1976; Reschid [Rashid] 1976; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 81–82, text Naramsin 1.

77. See MSL 11:37, iii:24; 60, ii:27; 141, ii:20.

78. See Weidner 1953: 16.

79. Lacheman 1940: 20; Fisher 1959: no. 435; *RGTC* 10:172–73.

80. I leave aside, as having no relation to the present topic, the possible third Tuttul somewhere in the Transtigris, on which see Dossin, as quoted by Pohl 1952: 500; Goetze 1953b; and probably *Du₈-du₈-lī^{ki}* in MSL 11:60, i:20.

to Yarmuti is found only in the Amarna letters of Rib-Addi, king of Byblos, as ^{kur}*Ia-ri-mu-ta* (once ^{kur}*Ia-a[r-mu-ta]*),⁸¹ referring to a grain-producing country under Egyptian control, located south of Byblos. Food supplies were brought from this country by sea. Attempts to locate it anywhere in Syria or Palestine met insurmountable obstacles.⁸² (The *É-îr-mu-ut*^{ki} at Ebla, ARET 2 22:III:4–5, was not a country and not a city but a private land estate.) A correct solution was proposed by Niebuhr, who identified Yarimuta with the Delta of the Nile.⁸³

We are dealing here with a transference to new territories of place-names found in archaic cuneiform sources, which had already begun in the Amarna Age. Rib-Addi was evidently well acquainted with the popular literature about Sargon; he addresses the pharaoh as *šar tamḥari* ‘king of battle’, the title of a novel about Sargon’s exploits, and he is the only Amarna correspondent who called Nubia by the name *Me-luḥḥa* (originally the Indus Basin), which appears, among other places, in Sargon’s own inscriptions. The Nile Delta and the Ḥabūr Triangle resemble each other in several aspects: both are shaped as triangles with the apex in the south, both are intersected by streams, and both were known in antiquity as grain-producing areas.

This means that, after conquering Mari, Sargon’s army marched up the Ḥabūr, plundered the Triangle, then turned west by the great transversal road of north Mesopotamia into northernmost Syria up to the Amanus (the Cedar Forest) and the Taurus (the Silver Mountains)—an area which at that time was part of the Ebla Empire.⁸⁴ Did Sargon, on the return leg, make a detour in order to destroy the city of Ebla itself? Inscriptional and archaeological data speak against it.

81. See the index of geographical names in any edition of the Amarna letters for its mentions, which are too numerous to repeat here.

82. The first publisher of Sargon’s inscription in question, Poebel (1914: 225–26), identified Yarmuti with Rib-Addi’s Yarimuta and placed it in the fertile plain of Antioch, which adjoined the cedar forests of the Amanus. This was reiterated by several scholars. However, Dussaud (1927: 224) rejected this location for Yarimuta because the data of Rib-Addi’s letters pointed to a location south, not north, of Byblos. Another weighty argument against it is the fact that the plain of Antioch was not under Egyptian sovereignty in the fourteenth century. Vague statements such as “City and port on the Mediterranean, south of Byblos” (Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 345), or “Coastal city, perhaps south of Beirut, the exact location of which remains unknown” (Moran 1987: 603) miss the point, because the Phoenician coast has never been a grain-producing area. The Bible knows two towns called *Yarmūt*: one in the lowland of Judah (Josh 10:3; 15:35), the other in Lower Galilee (Josh 21:29), and a similarly understood name, *ʾIyḏmwt*, appears in the older group of the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty execration texts. But here we are certainly very far from the farthest imaginable reach of Sargon’s advance and are dealing with homonyms (West Semitic “height,” “elevation”). Furthermore, would any of these sites be important enough to qualify for the designation ‘country’ (KUR), which is what Yarmūt is called throughout Rib-Addi’s letters, and be a major grain exporter?

83. Niebuhr 1896. After several searches in other directions, Albright (1940: I:31) stated: “The term *Yarimuta* in the Byblos letters seems to mean ‘Egypt.’” But, one should note, it does not refer to all of Egypt, for which Rib-Addi used the standard Semitic term *Miṣri*.

84. The eastern border of the Ebla Empire ran east of the Cullab-Baliḥ line, including Ḥarrān (see Astour 1988: 145; Archi 1988b), but, to the best of my knowledge, the zone of Eblean sovereignty did not reach the Ḥabūr. In the northwest, the territory of Ebla attained the Amanus (see ^{ʾĀ-ma-an}^{ki}, ARET 4 18 §18; and *Da-lu-rī*^{ki} ARET 8 541 §23 = Mt. Adal(l)ur/Adilur/Dilur in cuneiform texts, the southern part of the Amanus range). In the north it reached the Taurus, to judge from Ebla’s supremacy over Uršu and Akakališ, which will be considered in §8 below.

What Sargon very certainly did destroy was Mari. An early Sargonic date formula, generally attributed to his reign, states *mu Ma-ri^{ki} ħul-a* ‘the year when Mari was destroyed’.⁸⁵ Excavations have revealed that the pre-Sargonic palace, the temple areas, and probably the entire city were destroyed in a great conflagration, with evidence of preliminary acts of vandalism.⁸⁶ Directly under the destruction stratum lay tablets in a script similar to that of the Ebla texts but displaying a few more-recent traits.⁸⁷ Mari remained deserted for about two generations and was restored as a city under governors appointed by Sargon’s successors.⁸⁸ But in the Ebla tablets, found in the Court of Audiences and composed during the last month of the existence of Palace G, business with Mari went on as usual and its king, Ĥidar, was alive and well. For obvious geographical reasons Sargon could not have destroyed Ebla before Mari, and the news of Mari’s fall would have reached Ebla much faster than it would have taken Sargon’s army on its long roundabout march. Hence, the fire of Palace G occurred before Sargon’s northern expedition and could not have been inflicted by him.

As noted above, Sargon, after destroying Mari, turned against Yarmuti (‘highland’), a designation analogous to *mātum elītum* ‘Upper Country’, applied to the Ĥabūr Triangle in the Mari archives. We now know from the recently uncovered and published pre-Sargonic tablets from Tell Beydar that the Ĥabūr Triangle formed a major political entity that comprised several cities and was ruled by the king of Nagar, plausibly identified with Tell Brak, the largest mound of the area, and its administrative center under Naram-Sin and the Ur III dynasty.⁸⁹ No pre-Sargonic tablets were found at Tell Brak, but the excavators identified two destruction levels there preceding the construction of Naram-Sin’s palace. They considered it possible that the two destructions were done either by Lugalsagesi and Sargon or by Sargon and Naram-Sin. But since there is no evidence that Lugalsagesi made war in Upper Mesopotamia, there remains only the second alternative. It is quite in Sargon’s warfare style to brutally destroy the capitals of conquered kingdoms. But, just like Mari, Nagar was still intact and in lively commercial and political relations with Ebla in the last month of the existence of Ebla’s royal palace G. In the business tablets of that month, published in ARET 8, Nagar is mentioned in 523 §34; 525 §1; 528 §14; 532 §48; 533 §§62, 63; 542 §22; some of them deal with production of wool, as in the texts quoted in Part 1: 64–65; again, as with Mari, business went on as usual.

85. PBS 13 27:IV:6–7 = Gelb and Kienast 1990: 50, D-5, Sargon 4. On its attribution to Sargon, see also Durand 1985: 158; Charpin 1987a: 96 and n. 46.

86. Parrot 1953: 26; 1974: 87–89; on his ascription of the destruction to Lugalsagesi because “it seemed to us, indeed, impossible that a Semite like Sargon could submit the people of Mari, in fact his coreligionists, to such a cruel fate,” see the remark by Archi 1985a: 49 n. 8: “This affirmation, no doubt, derives from modern ecumenism.” For the conclusions of recent excavations, see Lebeau 1985a, 1985b.

87. Charpin 1987a, particularly the comparative analysis of the script (pp. 94–96) and the sign list (pp. 126–27).

88. Durand 1985.

89. The tablets from Tell Beydar have been published, with detailed explanatory material, as *Subartu II* (1996). The information on the two late-third-millennium destruction levels at Tell Brak has been summarized by J. Oates 1990: 140–41.

The same conclusion emerges from the fact that the relations between Ebla and Kiš also remained perfectly normal in the last month before the destruction of Palace G.⁹⁰ However, even though Kiš appears in the Ebla texts in exactly the same writing (Kiš^{ki}, Labat sign 425) as in Sumerian and Akkadian texts, doubts about its identity were voiced by Michalowski (but retracted by him in the same article)⁹¹ and Sollberger.⁹² More recently, under the only confident title “Exit Kiš from the Horizons of Ebla,”⁹³ Pomponio asserted that in the Ebla texts Kiš^{ki} stood not for the famous Babylonian city but for some other place, which he located in the eastern part of the Ḥabūr Triangle, north of Nagar, following Michalowski’s abandoned assonance with *Ki-iš-ki-iš*, an obscure caravan stop mentioned in the Old Babylonian itinerary published by Goetze and Hallo.⁹⁴ Pomponio’s reasons for this move were (a) association of Kiš with Nagar, (b) a too great distance between Ebla and Kiš, (c) a similarity between the personal names of Kišites in Ebla texts and those of Ebléans.

However, Kiš is even more frequently associated with Mari and once with Terqa. It is known from TM.75.G.2268⁹⁵ that, according to an agreement with Mari, Ebléan merchants could travel to Mari and from Mari to Kiš, using deep-going boats (*má-gur_g*). This alone is enough to ascertain that Kiš was situated on the Euphrates downstream from Mari; besides, most of Ebla’s transactions with Kiš were conducted through Mariote intermediaries. In addition to relations with Kiš, relations with two other cities of the region later known as Akkad, Adab (UD.NUN^{ki}), and Akšak (*Ak-sa-gú^{ki}*) are attested at Ebla.⁹⁶ As for the distance, let us recall that Sumerians of the Late Uruk period reached Melitene and Egypt, and the means of transport have not deteriorated in the 800 or so years since then. The anthroponymic similarities between Ebla and the contemporaneous Kiš do not necessarily point to geographical proximity of the two (and how close is Ebla to Pomponio’s Kiš^{ki}?); A. Westenholz, for instance, saw Kiš as an indication of “an unbroken linguistic continuity from Ebla to Babylonia around 2400 B.C.”⁹⁷

Having thus ascertained that we are indeed dealing with the right Kiš, we may turn to the relevant evidence from this city. It is known from Sargon’s own inscription that “he restored Kiš to its place and caused them to settle the city.”⁹⁸ This has been confirmed by the excavations at Tell Inḡarra (East Kiš).⁹⁹ The great Palace A in Kiš was destroyed by fire at the end of the Early Dynastic IIIb period, and its site was used as a burial ground well into the time of the Dynasty of Akkad. The post-

90. On the relations between Ebla and Kiš, see Archi 1981b, 1987e.

91. Michalowski 1985: 297–98 and n. 44.

92. In ARET 8 46, s.v. *kiš^{ki}*.

93. Pomponio 1990.

94. Goetze 1953a: 51:II:2; Hallo 1964: 63:21.

95. Quoted in Archi 1985b: 57.

96. Archi 1985b: 83.

97. A. Westenholz 1988: 101–2. More recently, Steinkeller (1993: 242–44) provided a refutation of Pomponio’s assertion.

98. Hirsch 1963: 36, text Sargon b 1, lines 27–34 = Gelb and Kienast 1990: 157–59, text Sargon C 1.

99. Moorey 1966; Mallowan 1971: 274–75.

restoration tablets from Kiš are written in standard Sargonic script.¹⁰⁰ The Sumerian King List, which stands on firmer historical ground as it approaches the Sargonic period, says that “Kiš was smitten with weapons, its kingship to Uruk was carried; in Uruk Lugalzagesi became king and reigned twenty-five years.”¹⁰¹

It is generally agreed that Kiš was indeed destroyed by Lugalzagesi prior to Sargon’s accession.¹⁰² This tallies well with the opinion that the paleography of Ebla points to the time of Lugalzagesi and Urukagina. But it also means that the conflagration of Palace G at Ebla preceded not only the fall of Mari to Sargon but even that of Kiš to Lugalzagesi. It must also be noted that the chronological position that we have established for the end of Palace G excludes the possibility that Pepi I and Sargon were contemporaries. As pointed out above (p. 60), it is methodologically wrong to synchronize the reigns of Sargon and Pepi I by arbitrarily combining incompatible chronological systems.¹⁰³ The correct temporal correlation between Pepi I, the first of Palace G, and the accession of Sargon can only be obtained, as stated above,¹⁰⁴ by proceeding from low chronology for western Asia and Memphite chronology for Egypt.

Option d: None of the Above

If not an undefined ruler around 2500, not Naram-Sin, and not Sargon, who then destroyed Palace G and put an end to Phase Mardiḥ IIB1? Lugalzagesi would fit chronologically, but his self-laudatory Nippur inscription says nothing about military campaigns in remote countries.¹⁰⁵ Lugalzagesi states that “Enlil opened for him the road from the Lower Sea, up the Tigris and the Euphrates, to the Upper Sea.” This means no more than it says: that the great trade routes along the Tigris and the Euphrates were safe for travel by Lugalzagesi’s envoys and merchants. It is the same phraseology used by Gudea, whom nobody credits with military feats in Syria: “Nin-girsu, his beloved king, opened up for him the routes from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea.”¹⁰⁶ To be sure, Lugalzagesi’s inscription also says that the god “had rendered the lands subject at his foot, and from the rising sun to the setting sun he had bound the neck to him.” But the claim is vague, with no specific geographical indications, unlike the practice of earlier and later rulers. It probably refers just to Lower Mesopotamia, which Lugalzagesi had indeed subordinated to his hegemony. He could hardly have taken Ebla without first conquering Mari, where there are no traces of violence prior to the destruction by Sargon.

100. Gelb 1981: 67–68.

101. Jacobsen 1939: 110–11, lines 21–25.

102. Jacobsen 1939: 179: “Now the only one who could thus have destroyed Kish is obviously Lugal-zage-si.” Thus also Schmökel 1957: 28; Diakonoff 1959: 208, 210; Garelli 1969: 76.

103. As done, for instance, by Matthiae 1989b: 166–67.

104. See n. 19 above.

105. Thureau-Dangin 1907: 154:II:4–11; translation Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 92–95.

106. We shall deal with this inscription in the next section.

But must we necessarily look for a ferocious invader? And is it justified to equate the burning down of Palace G with a catastrophe of the city as a whole?¹⁰⁷ According to Matthiae, “after the savage destruction which put an end to the Mardikh IIB1 settlement our excavations have not turned up any evidence of interruption of occupation. . . . The transition from Mardikh IIB1 to Mardikh IIB2 is marked by the destruction of the Palace but not by any real break of cultural development.”¹⁰⁸ It looks very much as though Royal Palace G was the only part of the city to have burned down. Not all fires that destroyed palaces and other public buildings were caused by enemies or civil wars; some were accidental. Such a possibility has been envisaged for the Late Minoan palace of Knossos.¹⁰⁹ The old temple at Delphi burned down, around 550 B.C., by accident. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus burned down, in 359 B.C., from an individual act of arson. The first state capitol of Missouri burned down in 1837; so did the second, in 1911, struck by lightning. In 1837, the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg was almost entirely destroyed by fire, despite improved firefighting technique and no lack of water from the nearby Neva River. In 1992, an entire wing of Windsor Castle was ravaged by fire. Given the conditions of the almost waterless Ebla, especially on a dry summer day with a strong westerly wind blowing, a fire in the palace would have been practically impossible to extinguish.

In Archi's words, “archaeological documentation shows that Palace G was destroyed, sacked, and burned.”¹¹⁰ But it does not look as though it was sacked before being burned. Plunderers would not have left behind 22 kilograms of unworked lapis lazuli.¹¹¹ If it paid to import this highly valued stone, through numerous intermediaries, from as far as Badakhshan, it was certainly worth the looters' while to move the lapis lazuli a few yards out of the doomed palace. There were also smaller quantities of carnelian, rock crystal, and obsidian.¹¹² Speaking about remains of figurines found in the palace, Matthiae stresses “the extremely precious nature of these images of gold, ivory, and hard stone.”¹¹³ Describing the miniature inlay plaques, some of them of lapis lazuli with meticulously carved details of human and animal figures, he considers it “very probable that these images formed part of some precious fittings” and

107. Such generalizations can be found, among other places, in Pettinato 1979a: 112 (but not in his 1986: 107–20, where he speaks only about the destruction of Palace G); Diakonoff 1985: 335: “Apparently, it was Naram-Su'en who completely destroyed 'Ebla and Armanum' and annihilated the Eblean kingdom”; Archi 1985a: 45–50: “Vast destructions like those that took place at Mari and Ebla”; Matthiae 1985a: 137: “Royal Palace G and the remainder of the city were destroyed by either of the two kings” (but elsewhere, in most cases, Matthiae took care not to extend the destruction of Palace G to the entire city); Weiss and Kohlmeyer 1985: 213: at Tell Mardih, “[no] significant occupational traces for the span from the Akkadian destruction until the Old Syrian [i.e., Middle Bronze] period.”

108. Matthiae 1981: 105. See also Mazzoni 1985: 12: “The destruction of Royal Palace G seems to argue in favor of an act of external violence. . . . The material and ceramic cultures survive, however; they are even renewed, but internally.”

109. Hutchinson 1962: 300–302.

110. Archi 1987c: 136.

111. Matthiae 1984b: 47; Pinnock 1988: 108.

112. Pinnock 1985: 87.

113. Matthiae 1981: 80.

that “a number of remnants of gold foil . . . were certainly overlays for wooden furniture.”¹¹⁴ It is unlikely that such furnishings, fit for a king, would have been left in the palace by invaders prior to torching it.¹¹⁵ Instead, it seems that palace personnel, surprised by the raging fire, simply did not have time to save all of its contents.¹¹⁶

We have, thus, arrived at the following time bracket for the destruction of Royal Palace G: It occurred prior to not only the destruction of Mari by Sargon but also the destruction of Kiš by Lugalzagesi. Since the last years of Lugalzagesi’s 25-year reign overlapped with Sargon’s first years, his reign comprised approximately the years from 2290 through 2265. Assuming, with T. Jacobsen, that Lugalzagesi destroyed Kiš about the middle of his reign, we could tentatively place this event about 2280. This is the terminus ante quem for the end of the Mardiḥ IIB12 period. For paleo-graphical reasons, it is difficult to set the terminus post quem before 2300. This date would leave ample time for the importation of the vase with Pepi I’s cartouche to Ebla. If we proceed, as an approximation, from the median between these dates—that is, 2290—this would leave about 25 to 30 years between the end of Palace G and the destruction of Mari, which followed Sargon’s conquest of Sumer and may be placed between 2265 and 2260.¹¹⁷

The pre-Sargonic tablets of Mari that are dated by regnal years (unfortunately, without the royal name or names) belong to two distinct sets by their locations and datings.¹¹⁸ The tablets unearthed at work site B in the northern part of Mari bear the dates of years 20 to 26 (Room V) and 33 to 35 (Room VIII). They were found on the floor of a public edifice that was built in Layer 4 (latter part of Early Dynastic III). Above it lies the thin Layer 3, which is marked by a remodeling of the edifice that soon afterward was destroyed by fire.¹¹⁹ The tablets from the pre-Sargonic Palace P 1 are dated by the years 3, 4, 7, and 8, and those from the “Commons,” by the years 6, 7, and 8. In both places, the tablets were lying in the layer of broken pottery and ashes that marked the Sargonic destruction of the city.¹²⁰ Thus, we may conclude that these things took place during the latter part of a 35-year-long reign, followed by one that violently ended in its eighth year. We have seen that Ḫidar sat on the throne of Mari at the time of King Iṣar-Damu of Ebla and his vizier Ibbi-Zikir. Ḫidar, no

114. Ibid.

115. Then there is the case of the 20 alabaster vases, imported from Egypt and stored in the inner court of the Administrative Quarter of Palace G (Matthiae 1989b: 163), which were shattered not by vandal hands but by the weight of the collapsed roof.

116. Insofar as I know, the only author to envisage this possibility was Postgate (1986: 68), who continued his statement, quoted in n. 70 above, with the words: “And it is perfectly possible that the destruction of the palace was accidental, or perhaps caused by a different enemy, closer to Ebla—there are several possible rivals” (he did not elaborate). The considerations adduced above apply, however, to any enemy, close or remote.

117. See Durand 1985: 158: “That the remembrance of ancient kings, contemporary with Ebla, or even preceding it, had been erased, is fully explicable of Mari, destroyed in the beginning of Sargon’s reign, had remained deserted for at least a generation, or two.”

118. See the summary of the locations of pre-Sargonic tablets in Charpin (1987a: 66, and on the plan on the next page).

119. See the reports by Lebeau 1985a, 198b.

120. To Charpin (1987a: 93), they are “*membra disiecta* of one and the same archive.”

doubt, was the penultimate pre-Sargonic king of Mari, whose first 10 or 15 regnal years overlapped with the final years of the existence of Palace G at Ebla. In this case, as well, the chronologies of Ebla, Mari, and Akkad connect quite satisfactorily.

The attribution of the Ebla archives to the Early Dynastic III period has been envisaged by some scholars but only in general terms and without excluding their extension into the reign of Sargon. This section of the present essay, as I like to think, has eliminated the Sargonic option, has narrowed down the end of the Ebla archives to approximately 2990 (give or take a few years), and has provided a more solid base for their pre-Sargonic dating.

8. Ebla in the Mardīḥ IIB2 Period

(a) Archaeological Evidence

Royal Palace G, after its conflagration, was a total loss. It was abandoned, and a retaining wall of mud bricks was built at the edge of the Court of Audiences in order to prevent the palace debris from sliding down the slope. A new temple was built in area D of the acropolis, directly north of the burned palace. As mentioned in the preceding section, there was no break in cultural development; there was also no reduction of the inhabited area: traces of occupation were found in various places in the lower city, including its periphery. A new royal palace was constructed in the northern part of the lower city; it was discovered during the 1993 season of excavations, largely underneath the Middle Bronze II palace, and it proved to have been in use throughout the Early Bronze IVB and Middle Bronze I periods.¹²¹ However, no tablets have been found so far in this palace or anywhere else in the contemporaneous level of the city. Only one inscription, from the very end of the Mardīḥ IIB2 period, is extant.¹²² Otherwise, the little that we know about Ebla during the IIB2 period comes from archaeological data or from references to it in south Mesopotamian cuneiform texts.

The chronological limits of the period have been approximated according to its plentiful ceramic material but in situ (from the acropolis and lower city) and in the soil reused for the core of the great earth rampart of the following period. It fully corresponds to the pottery of Amuq J, which is but an internal development and refinement of Amuq I ware that was characteristic of the Mardīḥ IIB1 period.¹²³ The end of Phase J in the Amuq sites has generally been dated to around 2000 (middle chronology), approximately the time of the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur.¹²⁴

121. Matthiae 1994; Dolce 1995. The historical significance of this unusual occurrence will be discussed in §9(e) below.

122. This piece of evidence will be examined in §9(b) below.

123. Matthiae 1981: 109–11; Mazzoni 1982: 197; 1985: 12. The Amuq J Phase is characterized by the appearance of goblets in addition to the pottery of the preceding phase (hence “caliciform ceramic”). Amuq J was originally called Period IX (Braidwood 1937).

124. McEwan 1937: 10; Braidwood 1937: 6; Albright 1937: 50 (these datings were made before the downward revision of Babylonian chronology in the 1940s, but they did not depend on Babylonian

Synchronistic Table

Years	Lagaš	Mari	Ebla Viziers / Kings	Uruk/Akkad	Egypt	Years
2450–						–2450
2425–	— Ur-Nanše, 2430–2401	Lamgi-Mari Anusu				–2425
2400–	— Akurgal, 2400–2391	Saʾumu	Išar-Malik			–2400
2375–	Eannatum, 2390–2361	Ištup-Šar	Kum-Damu			–2375
2350–	— Enannatum I, 2361–2341	Iblul-II Nizi	Adub-Damu			–2350
2325–	Entemenna, 2341–2311	Enna-Dagan	Arennum / Igriš-Ḫalam		—	–2325
2300–	— Enannatum II, 2310–2305 Enentarzi, 2304–2295 Lugalanda, 2294–2288 Urukagina, 2287–2278	Iku-Išar Ḫidar	Ibrium / Irkab-Damu Ibbi-Zikir / Išar-Damu Fire of Palace G, ca. 2290	— Lugalzagesi, ca. 2290–2265 — Destruction of Kiš, ca. 2280 — Sargon, 2270–2215	Pepi I, 2333–2283 —	–2300 –2275
2250–		X Destruction of Mari, ca. 2260				–2250
2225–						–2225
2200–				Rimuš, 2214–2206 Manišusu, 2205–2191		–2200
2175–				Naram-Sin, 2190–2154		–2175
2150–				—		–2150

At Ebla, the end of Phase J coincides with the violent destruction of the city. Matthiae stressed that “the 2000 B.C. dating [of the destruction] is purely formal” and cautiously placed the underlying events “between 2050 and 1950 B.C.”¹²⁵ In terms of low chronology, the median point in time would be approximately 1940; an even more precise date for the end of the IIB2 period at Ebla will be proposed in the next chapter.

This period (coterminous with Early Bronze IVB in Syria) does not seem to have been a time of decline. Three major cities, geographically linked with Ebla, arose at this time. The closest to Ebla, only 15 km to the east on the shore of es-Siḥah (the western salient of the el-Maṭṭ lagoon), is Tell Tuqān, a mound of approximately 27 ha with a peculiarly located acropolis.¹²⁶ The second is Tell Šabḥa, a very large site (ca. 1 km in diameter, which yields an area of ca. 78 ha), 26 km due east of the southern end of el-Maṭṭ, near the northeastern tip of the salt marsh of Ḥarayıḡ. The third, Tell Munbaṭaḥ, approximately 22 km to the northeast of Tell Šabḥa, measures 240 m by 220 m, with an area of about 44 ha, and stands in the middle of the fertile valley between the basalt massifs of Ġebel Ḥaṣṣ and Ġebel Šbeyt, 4 km southeast of its modern and Roman-Byzantine principal settlement, Ḥanāšir (ancient Anasartha).¹²⁷ All three cities were surrounded by strong outer walls with towers at intervals. De Maigret convincingly deduced from the positions of Tell Šabḥa and Tell Munbaṭaḥ that their function was to protect the trade road from Ebla to Emar, which bypassed the el-Maṭṭ and Ġebel Ḥaṣṣ from the south and Ġebel Šbeyt from the north.¹²⁸ A similar road, passing through Anasartha, was built by the Romans as part of the strategic road network in the Syrian Desert.¹²⁹ Tell Tuqān, Tell Šabḥa, and Tell Munbaṭaḥ were destroyed at the same time as Ebla IIB2, and only the former was rebuilt along with Ebla. The ancient names of all three sites are unknown, and attempts to find them were unsuccessful.¹³⁰

synchronisms and could be retained); Braidwood 1954: 38–39; Mellink 1957: 396; R. and L. Braidwood 1960: 520–22; Patty Watson 1965: 80–82; Mellink 1956: 126; Haines 1971:1; de Maigret 1978: 89; Matthiae 1981: 66; Schwartz and Weiss 1992: 1.240, 2.188.

125. Matthiae 1981: 11.

126. The mound was surveyed by Albright and Dougherty 1926: 9; Albright 1933: 31; cf. Albright 1937: 500; Liverani 1965: 112–14; soundings were made by Matthiae 1979; 1982a: 299, 301, 303–31; 1983.

127. Both tells, Šabḥa and Munbaṭaḥ, were surveyed and described by de Maigret 1974. They can be found on the map of *Sélémīyé* (1:200,000) and on the map of Ġebel Ḥaṣṣ and Ġebel Šbeyt in Mouterde and Poidebard 1945: 64, fig. 4; see also Matthiae 1989a: fig. 56.

128. De Maigret 1974: 264–66. His latter supposition, that the two fortified sites were erected with the aim of protecting Ebla from raids from the east (de Maigret 1978: 90), is less plausible.

129. It is shown on the general map (1:500,000) of the limes of Chalcis in Mouterde and Poidebard 1945. At that time, the long-deserted Tell Munbaṭaḥ was reoccupied as a Roman fort.

130. According to my interpretation of the epigraphic and pictorial evidence of Shalmaneser III's Syrian expedition of 853 (Astour 1969: 413), the city of Barga was located in the same area as Tell Tuqān, although I abstained from identifying it with one of the several local mounds. Tell Tuqān could not have been Barga, for it was virtually deserted during the periods in which Barga is epigraphically attested: Early Bronze IVA, Late Bronze, and ninth century B.C. On the provisional map of the Ebla Empire

We know of two intrusions into the northern marches of the Ebla Empire by kings of the Dynasty of Akkad: one by Sargon, and the other by Naram-Sin. Both of them, as shown in the preceding section, were aiming for the cedar forests of Mt. Amanus.¹³¹ These brief incursions, separated by some 90 years,¹³² did not in all probability affect Ebla to any great extent—certainly much less than the Hundred Years’ Mariote War. The invaded area was not attached to the Sargonic empire. When Naram-Sin states in his inscription¹³³ that he made the conquered people carry the basket of his god ^dA-ba₄ (that is, he used them in corvée work), he had in mind the people of Transtigradian Armanum and Ebla and perhaps some persons captured

(in Astour 1988b) I identified it with Tell Sulṭān, which satisfies these stratigraphic requirements. The tentative equation of Tell Tuqān with the somewhat assonant *Ta-p-k-an-na* (Thutmose III’s Naharina List no. 187) = ^{uru}*Tap-qa-an-ni* of Alalah IV by Helck (1962: 144) did not take into account that *Tell Tuqān* is a modern, and quite recent, name of the mound: according to Sweet (1960: 33, 38; Sweet is the anthropologist who spent some time in an adjacent village with the same name), the place was named for Abdallah Tuqān, sheikh of a subdivision of the Mawali tribe; its earlier name was Tell aḏ-Dahab ‘Golden Tell’. Matthiae’s (1979b: 9–10) suggestion (admittedly tentative) that Tell Tuqān may have been Uršu is out of the question for at least three reasons: (a) Uršu, as will be noted below, was located “in the mountains of Ebla” and was a source of timber, but in the area of Ebla (the city, not the empire) and Tell Tuqān there are no mountains and there never were any forests; (b) one does not travel, for business purposes, from Assur to Cappadocia via Tell Tuqān, as is attested for Uršu; (c) according to Matthiae’s own stratigraphic findings, Tell Tuqān was settled after the end of the period of Ebla archives, but Uršu (*Ur-sá-um*^{ki}) plays a very significant role in those archives. The location of “Manuwat?” at Tell Munbaṭaḥ on the map in Astour 1988, unexplained in the text, was inspired by the assonance of *Manuwat* to *Menua*, a mountain area from which Gudea imported stone blocks for steles, and its hypothetical identification with the basaltic massif of Ğebel Šbeyt. The whole construction was fallacious, because the settlement at Tell Munbaṭaḥ did not exist at the time when Manuwat was frequently mentioned in the Ebla archives and because my subsequent research in the arena of the wars between Ebla and Mari brought me to the conclusion that Manuwat was located on the Euphrates, as indicated in Part 1: 35–37.

131. Besides the well-known inscription discussed in the preceding section (see n. 72 above), cutting of cedars in the Amanus (to be used for the construction of the temple of Ištar at Zabala) is mentioned in an Old Akkadian royal inscription, at first known only in a Neo-Babylonian copy published by Sollberger 1982a; then its genuineness was confirmed by fragments of an authentic Old Akkadian stele identified and published by Frayne 1984. The Neo-Babylonian copyist ascribed the inscription to Šar-kali-šarri; however, its phraseology is characteristic of Naram-Sin, and all four feats listed were performed by Naram-Sin as well, as noted by Sollberger, Frayne, and Gelb and Kienast 1990: 84–88 (Naram-Sin 2) and 276–79 (Šar-kali-šarri C 1, a synoptic edition of the stele fragments attributed to Naram-Sin and the Neo-Babylonian copy). In all probability Naram-Sin’s stele refers to the same expedition to the Amanus that was described in the text noted in n. 46 above. A stray reference to *Ga-ga-NI-šum*^{ki} (to be read *Ga-ga-lī-šum*^{ki} and identified with *Ga-ga-li₉-išk₁/A-ga-ga-li-išk₁* in the far north of the Ebla Empire) in a tablet from Naram-Sin’s reign is also connected with the Amanus expedition; this important city will be discussed in the next section.

132. We have dated Sargon’s destruction of Mari (and thus the expedition to the Cedar Forest) to 2260 or a little earlier. Naram-Sin’s raid of the Amanus, preceded by several important campaigns in southern Mesopotamia, Transtigris, northern Mesopotamia, and the area of the sources of the Tigris, is very unlikely to have happened before the middle of his reign. The interval between 2260 and 2172 (Year 18 of Naram-Sin) amounts to 88 years.

133. See §7, option b, above.

in the Amanus and carried away to Tell Brak or Akkad. Ebla found no place in the traditional epic literature about the feats of Sargon and Naram-Sin.¹³⁴

Despite the extreme scarcity of information on trade with Syria in Sargonic texts, there are indications that the old ties between the zone of Ebla's hegemony and southern Mesopotamia were not entirely interrupted. Steinkeller recognized the ethnic *Gáb-lu₅-lí-um* in a text from the classical Sargonic period, from Adab, published long ago,¹³⁵ and derived it from the frequently occurring Eblean toponym *Gáb-lu₅/lu-ul^{ki}*.¹³⁶ This occurrence is particularly interesting because, on the one hand, Adab was one of only three southern Mesopotamian cities with which Ebla of the period of the archives had relations,¹³⁷ and its ensi, Meskigala, a contemporary of Lugalzagesi, is known to have imported cedars (probably from Syria);¹³⁸ and, on the other hand, people from Kablul, an important royal city of the Ebla Empire, traveled to Mari and as far as Kiš.¹³⁹ Another Sargonic text mentions a *lú-Íl-wu-um*¹⁴⁰—that is, a man from the Eblean city of *Íl-wu-um^{ki}*, situated below the great bend of the Euphrates.¹⁴¹

(b) Testimony of Gudea

After the weakening of the Empire of Akkad under Sar-kali-šarri and its disintegration during the time of the Gutian supremacy, any threat to Syria from the east subsided. An important epigraphic testimony from the late Gutian period proves that Ebla still maintained its imperial status at that time. It is found in the abundant writ-

134. For the genre of Babylonian historical fiction and its borrowing and development by the Hittites, Güterbock 1934 and 1938 still remain important. A survey of works centered on Sargon and Naram-Sin, including more recently-published texts, has been given by J. Westenholz 1983. The geographical horizon of these kings' conquests kept steadily expanding in the second millennium, according to the rate at which remote regions opened up to Mesopotamian trade or diplomacy. Some of the Old Babylonian epics stayed in rather realistic geographical limits. Thus, the text from Harmal, published by Glassner 1985, credits Sargon with an expedition to the Cedar Forest, and from there to Mardaman (*Ma-al-da-ma-an*), Nawar (*Na-wa-al^{ki}*), and Šimurum (*Ši-mu-ri-a-am*). The geographical order, from west to east, is correct, and the first and fourth of the places are attested in Sargon's inscription and year name as objects of his expeditions. Already in the Old Babylonian period, Buruṣhanda—the westernmost Anatolian city reached by Old Assyrian merchants—was added to Sargon's imagined conquests. But the Syrian Ebla was ignored, even though it continued to be an important city in the Old Babylonian period and actively participated in the Cappadocian trade.

135. Luckenbill 1930: no. 81:2.

136. Steinkeller 1984a: 11; 1984b: 83.

137. See Part 1: 58.

138. Hackman 1958, no. 26; Diakonoff 1983: 212.

139. See Part 1: 59.

140. Donald 1964, no. 235:rev. 5; *RGTC* 1:77.

141. See Part 1: 29, 40. Other pieces of evidence are less certain geographically or chronologically. A Sargonic merchant called Quradum, apparently from Sippar, had dealings with Tuttul (*Tu-tu-li^{ki}*), Mari, and Uru.sag.rig^{ki} (Akk. *Āl-šarraki^{ki}*, a little downstream from Adab; CT 50, no. 72; Foster 1977: 32). It is more likely that the Tuttul in question was the southern one, between Sippar and Mari, rather than the remote Tuttul on the Balīḫ. Import of linen cloth from Ebla (*ga-da-Eb-la^{ki}*) is recorded in de Genouillac (1921, no. 6748:1), "date uncertain" according to Foster (1977: 39 n. 111), assigned to the Ur III period in *RGTC* 2:39.

ten legacy of Gudea, ensi of Lagaš, whose sixteenth and final year of reign coincided with the accession year of Utu-ḫegal of Uruk who, in that same year, put an end to the Gutian domination. This would imply the dates of 2074–2059 for Gudea's reign.¹⁴² A great builder, Gudea meticulously reported the provenience of metals, stones, timber, and other imported materials, and, consequently, his “Cylinder A” and, especially, “Statue B” inscriptions present a vivid picture of the economic geography of the Near East toward the end of the third millennium.¹⁴³ Concerning the area of this essay, Gudea declares that

when he was building the temple of Ningirsu, Ningirsu, his beloved king, opened up for him the routes from the Upper to the Lower Sea. From the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain (Ama-a-núm ḫur-sag eren-ta), he formed into rafts cedar logs 60 cubits long, cedar logs 50 cubits long, boxwood logs 25 cubits long, and brought them out of the mountain.¹⁴⁴

Further on the text states: “From the city of Ursu in the mountain of Ebla (uru Ur-su^{ki} ḫur-sag Eb-la-ta) he formed into rafts pine trees, large fir trees, plane trees, the trees of the mountain.”¹⁴⁵

The formula “the city of Ursu in the mountain of Ebla” is crucial. Prior to the definitive identification of Ebla with Tell Mardīḥ, it served as a basis for locating Ebla in northernmost Syria, not far from Ursu (Uršu), which the data of Old Assyrian, Mariote, and Hittite texts placed in the area of Gaziantep and most likely at Gaziantep itself.¹⁴⁶ It was only when the tablets in the archives of Ebla unearthed at Tell Mardīḥ disclosed that Ebla was not just an ordinary city-state but the capital of a vast empire, with Ursu (Urša'um) as one of its numerous vassal kingdoms, that Gudea's words acquired significance. The “mountain of Ebla” near Ursu¹⁴⁷ was so called by Gudea not because the city of Ebla stood there but because it belonged, along with

142. I followed here the calculations and synchronisms of Sollberger 1956, which seem convincing to me. That Gudea ruled before the Third Dynasty of Ur was also admitted by Falkenstein, *RLA* 3.676; Falkenstein and von Soden 1953: 9; Diakonoff 1959: 243; Hallo in Hallo and Simpson 1971: 67, 68, 79; Rowton, chronological chart in *CAH* 1/2 998; Durand 1985: 156. Steinkeller (1988) proposed to move Gudea's reign down and to make its latter part overlap with the earlier part of Ur-Nammu's reign. But his principal argument is the conjecture that Gudea's war with Elam was the same as Ur-Nammu's war with the same adversary and that Gudea may have participated in it as Ur-Nammu's ally. The location of Lagaš next door to Elam may well account for Gudea's own conflict with it.

143. An English translation of the pertinent parts of “Cylinder A” and “Statue B,” with reference to the original and subsequent publications of the texts, is given in Oppenheim 1955: 268–69. A complete edition of Gudea's inscription was prepared by Falkenstein, but only the introductory volume appeared (Falkenstein 1966), which includes a section on “Gudea's commercial relations” (pp. 46–54).

144. Statue B, inscription V:21–36.

145. *Ibid.*, V:53–VI:58.

146. For the location of Ebla near Uršu see, among others: Falkenstein 1966: 53; B. Alkim and H. Alkim 1966: 53–54; Astour 1971: 12–14; *RGTC* 2:39, s.v. *Ebla*. For the location of Uršu: Bilgiç 1951: 25–26; Archi et al. 1971: 44–46; Astour 1971: 15; 1997b: 2–3.

147. In the context of the Statue B inscription, the mountain in question designates the northern part of the Kurt Dağı range, immediately west of Gaziantep and south of the Sakçagözü Plain, through which passed the road from the Euphrates crossing at Belkis to the Arslan Beli Pass in the Amanus. This part of the Kurt Dağı reaches the height of 1500 m and preserves sizable vestiges of forests, which covered all of it until the nineteenth century; see Wirth 1971: 120, 126, 376.

Ursu, to the wide domain under the sovereignty of Ebla.¹⁴⁸ This means that the political situation of the time of the Ebla archives still obtained under Gudea, over 200 years later.¹⁴⁹ But the time “Statue B” inscription also shows that the frontiers of the Ebla Empire began to fray, at least on the Middle Euphrates.

Besides Syrian timber, Gudea “brought great blocks of na-stone from Umanum, the mountain of Menua, from Basalla, the mountain of Amurru (Û-ma-núm ħur-sag Me-nu-a-ta Ba₁₁-sal-la ħur-sag Mar-tu-ta); he fashioned them into steles and set them up in the courtyard of the Ninnu-temple.”¹⁵⁰ It has been admitted long since that *Basalla* is a variant of the oronym that appears in cuneiform sources, from Šar-kali-šarri on, as *Basar*, *Bašar*, *Bišir*, and other spellings and corresponds to Ğebel Bišri, an oval-shaped limestone massif in the Syrian steppe that almost reaches the Euphrates, about halfway between the mouth of the Baliḥ and that of the Ḥabūr.¹⁵¹ What Gudea had in mind was not the entire, nearly 100-km-long ridge, but only its extreme northeastern prolongation, the small (10 km × 7 km), basalt-covered plateau called Ḥammāt eš-Šamīyeh, which rises above the Euphrates narrows and provides the most convenient facilities for quarrying and cutting basalt blocks and loading them on river boats.¹⁵² It is, no doubt, from this area that huge blocks of basalt, dressed and polished, were brought to Mari to be erected as betyloi (*mašše-bôt*),¹⁵³ Gudea’s na-stone (na₄-na, Akk. *nā’u*), given its provenience, must be taken as one of the names for basalt.¹⁵⁴

148. A similar phraseology was used in the Broken Obelisk of Aššur-bēl-kala, which described the feats of Tiglath-pileser I. It speaks of royal hunting grounds in “the mountains of Ebiḥ, Uraše, Azameri, Pizitta, Pi’zagīš, Kašiyari, mountains of Assyria (KUR.MEŠⁿⁱ šá KUR ^aA-šur),” see *ARAB* 1: §392; *ARI* 2: §248. None of these mountains belonged to Assyria proper.

149. An inscription on “macehead A” (Thureau-Dangin 1907: 144–45; trans. Oppenheim 1955: 269), made of a kind of marble or fine breccia (Falkenstein 1966: 54), states that Gudea fashioned it from nu_x-gal stone quarried at Mount Uringiraz (near the Upper Sea, ħur-sag Ur-in-gi₄-ir₄-az a-ab-ba i-gi-ni-m-ka). Since the term “Upper Sea” designated the Mediterranean Sea in pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, and in Gudea’s own inscriptions, it must be sought in the Amanus ridge, the only place within Gudea’s horizon where mountains rise directly over the Mediterranean seacoast. Its very name may be understood as meaning ‘cutting of cedars’, from *urnu*, at Nuzi *urīnu* for *erēnu*, Heb. *’ōren* ‘cedar’, Aram. *’ūrānā* ‘pine’, and Arab. *ḡaraza* ‘to cut, to cut off’ cf. Heb. oronym *Gerizīm*, and for the semantics, kur giš-eren-kud ‘the country where cedars are cut’, in Šu-Sin’s list of vassal countries, to be considered below.

150. Statue B, inscription VI:5–12.

151. On the attestations and spelling variants of Ğebel Bišri in cuneiform sources, see Kupper 1957: 150 and passim (cf. index), and Buccellati 1966: 236, with references to earlier literature.

152. This area has already been mentioned in a different connection in Part 1: 37 n. 225. On the map, the plateau appears to be separated from the Ğebel Bišri by ca. 15 km of lower ground, but ancient and medieval written sources as well as modern geographers consider it the extreme edge of Ğebel Bišri. Very instructive is the report of Assurnasirpal II about his pursuit of Azi-īlu, king of Laqê, a country along the middle Euphrates and the lower Ḥabūr: ‘To save his life, he occupied the steep mountain of Bisuru which is over the Euphrates’ (KUR^u mar-šu KUR^u Bi-su-ru šá SAG ÍD Pu-rat-te). Grayson’s assertion (*ARI* 2: 53 n. 229) that the expression *re-eš*/SAG here and in other texts should be translated “in the direction of” makes no sense in this case, for the entire campaign was conducted along the Euphrates.

153. Parrot 1939: 7; 1974: 68, 106.

154. *AHw* and *CAD* give no definition for *Nā’u(m)*. Its identification with basalt was advanced by Herzfeld 1968: 78. Stol (1979: 94) added an entry in a lexical text, *Nabnitu* L:170 (not cited in the dictionaries): na₄.na = *ab-nu e-lu-u* ‘upper millstone’, for which basalt served as the preferable material.

Gudea speaks of Umanum, the mountain of Menua, in the same entry with Basalla, as a joint source of the na-stone. Falkenstein correctly deduced from it that Mount Umanum, too, was certainly located on the Euphrates route.¹⁵⁵ One does not have to search for it very far: it is the continuation of the basalt plateau on the eastern side of the Euphrates, which is about ten times more extensive than the western part, and displays a few prominent hills.¹⁵⁶ There, too, the inhabitants had quarried basalt and cut it into rectangular blocks since early times.¹⁵⁷

Because of the great strategic importance of the Euphrates narrows, the role of the hills as a source of construction stone, and the frequent necessity of bypassing the dangerous rapids on foot and taking new boats at the southern outlet of the gorge, the area was always inhabited and defended. Two ruined fortresses, Ḥalibīyeh on the western bank and Zalabīyeh on the eastern bank, stand high above the river.¹⁵⁸ In their present state, they mainly represent the rebuilding work by Justinian, but there are testimonies about settlements and edifice there in earlier Roman, Parthian, and Persian times further back in the age of the Mari archives, in which these two sites appear as Ḥalabit and Šalabatum/Šalabitum, respectively, and, some 600 years earlier, in the Ebla archives, where they are called Ḥalabitu/Ḥalabīʾi and Šalbat/Šalbatu.¹⁵⁹ At that time, both of them belonged to the Ebla Empire: Ḥalabitu appears in two slightly different lists of twelve tributary cities of Ebla, most of them known as having their own kings,¹⁶⁰ while Šalbat(u) was a rank-and-file town in direct subordination to Ebla listed among many other settlements on both banks of the Euphrates that provided

155. Falkenstein 1966: 52. Mount Umanum, like its neighbor Mount Bišir and some other mountains (Ebiḥ, Dibar, Saggār), appears in the Amorite personal name from the Ur III period, *La-ù-ma-nu-um*, listed in Owen 1981: 257.

156. On this whole volcanic area, see Musil 1927: 89–90; *B.R.513: Syria*: 33–35; Wirth 1971: fig. 2 (colored geological map opposite, p. 60).

157. Sachau (1883: 255) saw “great, rectangularly hewn basalt blocks of great antiquity” at Gabr Abū ‘Atiĉ (standard Arabic Abū ‘Atīq) on the left bank of the Euphrates gorge. Bell (1911: 66, 68) noted in the same place ruins of a considerable town with foundations, “built of great blocks of hewn basalt.”

158. On Ḥalibīyeh and Zalebīyeh, besides the quoted passages in Sachau 1883 and Bell 1911, see Sarre and Herzfeld 1911: 1.165–71; 1920: 2.376; Musil 1927: 331–34; Poidebard 1934: 1.86–90; vol. 2, pls. 83–84 (aerial photographs); Boulanger 1966: 485–86; Lauffray 1981; Chaumont 1984: 83–84. That Lauffray’s (1981: 25) soundings at Ḥalibīyeh showed no trace of occupation prior to the Late Roman time comes as no surprise: when a fortified place is being radically rebuilt, the ground is leveled (in this case to the hard rock), and the earlier deposits are obliterated. Another case in point, also on the Euphrates, is the great ruined castle Qal‘at Ġabar, known as Qal‘at Dausar before A.D. 1068 and attested as Dausara, Dausaron, and Dusaris in Roman historians and in business texts from the middle Euphrates belonging to the third century A.D. Yet the present castle is an Arab construction from the seventh century, and nothing remains from the pre-Islamic time.

159. The sonorization of a pre-Arabic unvoiced sibilant into a *z* in an initial position is unusual. It has been surmised that *Zalabīyeh* was erroneously derived from *Zenobia*, as Ḥalibīyeh across the river was called from the third to the seventh centuries A.D. I do not think that the whole name has been transferred, but I find it possible that the initial *z* arose under the influence of medieval Arabic folk tales that ascribed both castles to Queen Zenobia (az-Zabbaʾ) and her fictitious sister az-Zubeybaʾ (cf. Musil 1927: 185 n. 92).

160. See Astour 1988: 146 n. 47; Part 1: 37 n. 225; 50 and n. 307.

corvée teams.¹⁶¹ But for Gudea, Basalla became a “mountain of Amurru,” and we must recall that already Šar-kali-šarri named one of his years after his defeat of the Amorites at Mount Basar¹⁶² (from which he probably could not dislodge them).

The other basalt mountain, Umanum, is attributed to an entity called Menua. It does not recur in cuneiform sources of the second millennium (when the left bank of the Euphrates between the Ḥabūr and the Balīḥ was largely neglected), but it appears in the recently published, mid-eighth-century historical inscriptions of a governor of Mari and Suḥi¹⁶³ as ^{lú}*Mi-nu-ʾ-i*, the name of an Aramean tribe that resided in the very same location, the left bank of the Euphrates, north of the land of Laqê,¹⁶⁴ and that, like its confederates and several other Aramean tribes, took its tribal designation from a preexisting toponym.¹⁶⁵ No other item in Gudea’s records refers to a place in Syria.¹⁶⁶

161. This geographical framework is especially clear in two very similar registers of personnel by their towns, MEE 10 38 and 39, as well as from the context in which Šalbatu appears in ARET 2 29 (a commercial record discussed in Part 1: 60). In Mari archives, Šalabatum is always mentioned in association with towns and districts along the Euphrates. But Šalabatum’s tentative attribution to the district of Terqa (much too far south ever to have belonged to Ebla) by Anbar (1987: 642–43) is apparently based on a misinterpretation of the reference to that town in ARMT 3 30:22, a letter by Kibri-Dagan, governor of Terqa. He referred to Šalabatum not because it belonged to his district but because a detachment of troops from Yamḥad that had been stationed there abandoned it in an act of insubordination and came down to Terqa, where they were unwanted.

162. Gelb and Kienast 1990: 53, D-22, D-23.

163. Cavigneaux and Ismail 1990: nos. 2, 3, 4, 9, and 21.

164. The gist of the statement by the governor, Ninurta-kudurri-ušur, is that a group of Aramean tribes in northwestern Mesopotamia, members of the Ḥidallu confederation, agreed on raiding and plundering the Assyrian province of Laqê. In one version they are defined as the tribes of Sarugu and Amataya and as “two thousand Ḥadallu-men from the Sarugu-men to the Luḫuaya-men”; in another (no. 4:20) ^{lú}*Mi-nu-ʾ-i* replaces ^{lú}*Lu-ḫu-u-a-a* as the southernmost part of the coalition, the closest to Laqê. We have seen earlier that Mount Bisuru (Bišri) was the northern limit of Laqê. Since many Aramean tribes were widely scattered throughout the Near East, it is conceivable that ^{uru}*Mi-nu-ʾu* in the upper Diyala Valley (ABL 883:obv. 7; rev. 2, 12) was the settlement of a splinter off the same tribe.

165. Without entering into details, I would mention that in northern Mesopotamia of the Middle Assyrian period the Aramean (Aḫlamû) tribes of Ḥasmu and Yaʾuri owed their names to, respectively, the mountains of Ḥasam and Yāri; in Ninurta-kudurri-ušur’s statements, the Sarugu tribe derived its name from the homonymous city in northwestern Mesopotamia that is first attested during the time of Assurnasirpal II and certainly existed much earlier; the Amataya, to the city of Amatu (Ebla, Mari) on the upper Middle Euphrates; the Luḫuaya or Luḫuatu (also known in northern Syria and Babylonia), to the city of Luḫa/Luḫaya in northern Mesopotamia; in Babylonia, Aramean tribes bore the names of the cities Rapiqu and Ḥudadu. In some cases, tribal names survived for very long periods, while the tribes themselves changed from Amorite to Aramean and from Aramean to Arab. I have discussed such a case elsewhere (Astour 1978) and shall cite other possible cases further on in this chapter.

166. It has long been thought that the name of the mountain Bar-ME, where Gudea loaded na-lu-a-stones on great boats (Statue B:V:59–61), should be read Bar-šib and identified with the well-known Til-Barsib of the Neo-Assyrian period, now Tell Aḫmar on the left bank of the Euphrates, a little below the confluence of the Saḡur (Thureau-Dangin 1907: 71; Oppenheim 1955: 269; Albright and Lambdin 1970: 150). However, Gelb (1961b: 270) and Falkenstein (1962: 252; 1966: 51) have shown that the sign ME was not read *šib* in Old Akkadian writing and propose identifying Bar-me with *Bar-me-um*^{ki} (ethnic) in a Sargonic text from Gasur (HSS 10 159:III:5). Indeed, if the mountain stood over the Little Zab, its stone could easily have been transported down the river to the Tigris and so to Lagaš.

(c) The Northern and Western Periphery of Ur III

In the last year of Gudea's reign at Lagaš, Utu-ḫegal of Uruk put an end to the Gutian domination, and some eight years later his successor, Ur-Nammu, transferred the capital of the new state of Sumer and Akkad to Ur, inaugurating the century-long period of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2048–1940). The reign of Ur-Nammu and the first half of the long reign of his son Šulgi were taken up by the consolidation and centralization of the south Mesopotamian heartland of the kingdom, but then its rulers embarked on a persistent program of vast territorial conquests far beyond its borders. Here the historian finds himself facing a paradox. All that we know about the military campaigns of the Ur III kings—be it from the names of their regnal years or from the extant historical inscriptions—deals exclusively with Elam, the Transtigris all the way north to the Cudi Dağ, and the Zagros range.¹⁶⁷ There is not a word in the Ur III documentation published so far about any expeditions or other actions on the Middle Euphrates, in Upper Mesopotamia, or in northern Syria. Yet there is incontrovertible evidence that part of this extensive area was under direct rule, and the rest under the overlordship of the Ur III monarchs. Since this problem has a direct bearing on the situation and political status of Ebla itself and of other parts of the Ebla Empire as it existed in the period of the archives, it should first be considered in its broader context.

At Tell Brak, where Naram-Sin's palace had been destroyed toward the end of the Sargonic period, it was rebuilt, after a gap of about a century, on the old foundations by an Ur III king.¹⁶⁸ This points to a renewed role of Tell Brak as the headquarters of a southern imperial administration in the northern region. Queen Abi-simti, wife of Šulgi,¹⁶⁹ assigned sacrificial animals to Dagan and the goddess ^d*Ha-bu-ri-tum*,¹⁷⁰

Another good reason against the identification with Til-Barsib is that this name is merely a Neo-Assyrian adaptation (influenced by the Babylonian Barsib) of the native name of Tell Aḫmar, Tarbusiba, which continued to be used along with the distorted form.

167. The year names of the Third Dynasty of Ur have been collected by Ebeling in *RLA* 2.139–47. Šu-Sin's narrative of his campaigns in the Transtigris and the Zagros, preserved in Old Babylonian copies, have been published by Edzard 1960 (Collection A), Civil 1967 (Collection B), and Sjöberg 1972 (a fragment belonging to neither collection). A survey of military campaigns in the Transtigris by Ur III kings was presented by Hallo 1978. Although Amorites lived all around and inside the core of the Ur III monarchy, the particular "Amorite country" from which the war booty (*nam-ra-ag kur Mar-tu*) came "directly from the 'front,' so to speak" (Buccellati 1966: 290) in Šulgi Year 48 was located east of the Tigris, near the city of Zimudar (Lieberman 1969). Šu-Sin's war against the Amorites, described in his monumental inscription (Civil 1967: 31–32) immediately after his expedition against Simanum (which gave the name to his Year 3) and mentioning the Tidnum-tribe, took place in the same area in connection with the construction of the "Amorite Wall called Muriq Tidnim," for which his Years 4 and 5 were named.

168. Mallowan 1947: 29. This dating was confirmed by new excavations (D. Oates 1983; J. Oates 1990: 146), even though the tablet and the bulla found there did not contain the name Ur-Nammu, as reported by Mallowan (1947: 69).

169. She was thought to have been the wife of Amar-Sin, but the seal of her brother Babati, published by Whiting (1976: 178–82), calls her the mother of Šu-Sin and, since Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin were brothers, Abi-simti was also Amar-Sin's mother. She remained the queen mother under both of her sons.

170. *RGTC* 6 2:266. In tablet Erm. 3990 (Amar-Sin Year 5), published by d'Agostino 1998, and dealing with a festival presided by Abi-simti, the goddess is called ^d*Inanna Ha-bu-ri-tum* (line 9).

or, in one tablet,¹⁷¹ *Ḫa-bu-rí-tum-Si-ga-an*^{ki}—that is, the goddess of the Ḫabūr River, worshiped at its water-rich sources at the foot of the big Tell Feḫeriyeh, ancient Ḫabūra, in its cultic quarter, which retained its appellation *Sikani* ‘sacred stones’ or ‘steles’ up to the Neo-Assyrian period.¹⁷² The local deity of the Upper Mesopotamian city was thus integrated into the state-controlled religious establishment of Ur III. Another case of this kind is the appearance at Drehem of “Nawar-šen, gu^du₄-priest of Ninḫursaga, man of Nawar, the day [he arrived³] from Nawar.”¹⁷³ Nawar was an important Hurrian religious center in Upper Mesopotamia, which a few decades before the start of the Ur III Dynasty was united with the city of Urgiš under the joint rule of King Ari-šen.¹⁷⁴ At the time we are now dealing with, Urgiš was a separate entity,

171. Rashid (Reschid) 1971, no. 15:17.

172. It appears as *Ta-ka-na*, no. 52 on the Medinet Habu topographic list of Ramesses III, which was copied from a much earlier list of localities of the entire Mitanni Empire (Astour 1968: 742) that is no longer extant; then in the annals of Adad-nirari II, in the description of his itinerary down the Ḫabūr River as *uruSi-ka-a-ni ša ina rêš êni ša idḪa-bur* ‘the town of Sikāni which stands at the source of the Ḫabūr River’ (ARI 2 §453; in ARAB 1 §373 *Sikani* is translated ‘caverns (?)’); and in the bilingual inscription on the statue of Adad-it-’i (*Hdys*‘y), who calls himself, in the Assyrian version, *šakin* (governor) of *uruGu-za-ni*, *uruSi-ka-ni*, and *uruZa-ra-ni*; and in the Aramaic version, king of *Gwzn*, *Skn*, and *ʿzm*. The statue was found in 1979 in the southeastern part of Tell Feḫeriyeh, and its inscriptions were published, with commentary, by Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard 1982. The editors dated the statue to the reign of Assurnasirpal II. Note the phrase *idIM a-šib uruSi-ka-ni EN idḪa-bur* (Assyrian version 24–25) // *Hdd ysb Skn mr’ Ḫbwr* (Aramaic version 15–16) ‘Hadaḏ who dwells in Sikani, lord of the Ḫabūr’, which perpetuates the formula of the Ur III time. *Sikanu* is an old West Semitic term for ‘stele’ or ‘erect stone’; compare in the Sumerian-Eblaic vocabulary, VE 166a, the correspondence of *na-rú* ‘stele’ to *zi-ga-na-tim*; Ugaritic *skn* ‘stele’ and, for the vocalization, *gt sknm* (PRU 2 84:5, 98:7) = É AN.ZA.GÀR *sí-kà-ni-ma* (Nougayrol 1968, no. 96:1). At Emar of the thirteenth century, there was a ‘Gate of the Steles’ (*KÁ na₄.meš₃si-ka-na-ti*), where the ritual of the *zuku* feast was performed, which included anointing the steles with blood and fat (Arnaud 1986: no. 373 passim; 180: 384). On cultic stone pillars at Mari see n. 153 above. On the probable placement of Ḫabura at the headwaters of the Ḫabūr River in the Ugaritic Keret epic, see Astour 1973. However, the *Ḫa-bu-ra*^{ki} of the Ur III records is a different city, located in the valley of another Ḫabūr River, an eastern tributary of the Tigris, which still bears the same name (Astour 1987: 19–21, 42–47).

173. De Genouillac 1911: no. 83:obv. 8–9. This is so far the only reference to Nawar in Ur III texts.

174. The “Samarra tablet” (so called from the town where it was purchased), published by Thureau-Dangin 1912 (translation Sollberger and Kuper 1971: 129). It has been variously dated from the Sargonic to the Ur III period. Wilhelm (1988: 50) plausibly narrowed down the time of its composition to the end of the Gutian or the beginning of the Ur III period on the basis of the resemblance of its curse formula to the one in the mace inscription of the Gutian king La’erab (Sollberger and Kuper 1971: 129). Thureau-Dangin’s widely accepted identification of Nawar with the land of Namar near the middle Diyala Valley, which gave rise to the presumption of an ephemeral Hurrian superstate, has finally been laid to rest by the testimony of two Akkadian tablets from the time of the Mitannian king Tušratta found in the Mitannian palace of Tell Brak, which prove that Nawar was located in Mesopotamia—more precisely, in the district of Taidi (Illingsworth 1988: 99–108). I have adduced the archaeological evidence against identifying Taidi with Tell Brak in a different connection (Astour 1993: 114–15). Its remains must be buried under one of the larger mounds east of the Ġagğag River, which we know from the Middle Assyrian itinerary published by Röllig 1933. My own preference is for the huge Tell Farfara (Meijer 1986: no. 210), 30 km northeast of Tell Brak, with surface sherds from all periods in which Taidi (earlier Tādu) is epigraphically attested. For Nawar, one should look for a sizable mound to the northwest of Tell Farfara, in the direction of Tell Mozān, the virtually certain site of Urgiš (see next

also within the sphere of Ur III influence.¹⁷⁵ One of the functions of the *gudu₄*-priests (Akk. *pašišu*) was managing the economic activities of temples and recording the incoming and outgoing quantities of staples.¹⁷⁶ An instructive tablet from Year 3 of Amar-Sin¹⁷⁷ records the delivery of eight oxen and two cows as tribute from the *gudu₄* of the several shrines of Zimudar (*gun gudu₄ èš-didli Zi-mu-dar^{ki}*) which, interestingly, were handed over to Abi-simti, the queen mother whom we met in connection with another shrine. We may thus conclude that the *gudu₄* from Nawar came to Drehem, the central assembly point for cattle delivered as tribute, for the same reason.¹⁷⁸

It has been gradually established that the Ur III Empire consisted of three tiers. The provinces of its heartland (Sumer and Akkad) contributed to the maintenance of the major temples at Nippur by taking turns (*bala*) in supplying them with grain and other goods and services.¹⁷⁹ The conquered lands east of the Tigris, not including Elam, formed a second zone, characterized by the presence of numerous military settlements called *erīn* ‘troop’, which paid taxes in heads of livestock. After Year 3 of Šu-Sin this tax was standardized and called *gun ma-da* ‘tribute of the provinces’ and delivered to Drehem.¹⁸⁰ The third group, which included Ebla and its neighbors and thus brings us back to our topic, consisted of peripheral states with their own rulers but somehow connected with the Ur III monarchy. For the Ur kings these rulers were mere *ensis*, like the appointed governors of the heartland provinces.

note), displaying the required ceramic data. On our map, we have placed it, purely conventionally, at Tell el-Īd, about 35 km east-southeast from Tell Mozān (Meijer 1986: no. 166; poorly explored).

175. Ugiš already appears in the Sargonic tablet F.1153:4 from Tell Brak (Gadd 1940: pl. 5) as *Ur-kiš^{ki}*, and in an important but very damaged Old Babylonian copy of an authentic report by Naram-Sin about his conquests in Upper Mesopotamia and the headwaters of the Tigris, published by Michalowski (1986: 6, text A:II:9), which should be completed *Ur-k[i-š^{ki}]*. The references to Ugiš in Mari texts and in the Old Babylonian itinerary published by Goetze (1953a), combined with the information that the Hurrian tablet of Tiš-atal, king of Ugiš (published by Parrot and Nougayrol 1948), was found at or near ‘Amūdāh, finally made it certain that the site of Ugiš was at Tell Mozān, a very large mound 5 km southeast of ‘Amūdāh, now being excavated (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1988; Kelly-Buccellati 1990; Milano 1991). The Ur III occurrences of Ugiš will be considered below.

176. Meissner 1920–25: 2.58; Renger 1967–69: 2.160–66.

177. NCBT 1628, reproduced in Michalowski 1978: 37–38.

178. The importance of the many thousands of account tablets from Drehem (ancient Puzriš-Dagan) for our knowledge of Ur III administration, bureaucracy, political geography, and prosopography has been brought up in most of the works dealing with this period of Mesopotamian history. An exhaustive monograph on all facets of the Drehem apparatus is Sigrist 1993.

179. The *bala*-system was first investigated and described by Hallo 1960. The provinces of the core are listed by Steinkeller 1987b: 22 and n. 12; other pertinent remarks are on pp. 28–29.

180. Noted by Hallo 1960: 88–89 and Gelb 1973: 85; considered at greater length, along with the instances of payment of *gun*, by Michalowski 1978, and further developed by Steinkeller 1987b. An important follow-up of Steinkeller’s study is one by Maeda (1992), which introduced certain modifications in Steinkeller’s conception of the Ur III taxation system, including a reedition of Steinkeller’s summary list of 90 localities which, according to him, paid the *gun ma-da* (Steinkeller 1987b: 36 n. 56), this time supplied with references to the sources and indications as to what kind of impost each locality actually paid (Maeda 1992: 165–72). Unfortunately, Maeda’s useful study is marred by numerous printing errors and strange transliterations.

How does one determine which states belonged to the last group?¹⁸¹ There are two reliable ways of ascertaining it. One is the empirical fact that only the rulers of such states sent to Nippur and Drehem their officials called *lú-kin-gi₄-a*, to be translated not simply ‘messengers’ but ‘envoys’ (Maeda) or ‘ambassadors’ (Owen, Sigrist).¹⁸² It is true that the Drehem scribes, for the sake of brevity, often replaced the title *lú-kin-gi₄-a* with just *lú-GN* or *lú-PN*, but if a person appears with his title in at least one or two tablets it is sufficient for us to identify him as such in all other relevant texts. My own, admittedly somewhat cursory (except for Syrian cities), culling¹⁸³ resulted in thirty names of states with ambassadors. Eighteen of them were located in the Transtigris and Elam and will be set aside; one, *In-bu^{ki}*,¹⁸⁴ cannot be attributed to any region; one, *Má-gan^{ki}*, corresponds to Oman in southeastern Arabia; and ten belong to the area west of the Tigris. These are: Abarnium, Ebla, Gubla, Mari, Šuda’e, Tutula, Urgiš, Uršu, Yamatium, and Zidan(i)um/Zitian. To them should be added Mukiš, whose representative, Gababa, appears in two tablets as simply *lú-Mu-ki-iš^{ki}* because, first, its known location, as distant as possible from Ur, suggests a peripheral vassal state; and, second, it fulfills the other criterion for being classified as one—namely, being included in Šu-Sin’s list of outer states, over which he claimed overlordship.¹⁸⁵

The text in question, published by Civil,¹⁸⁶ is a fragment of an Old Babylonian copy of Šu-Sin’s commemorative inscription. It is damaged, especially in the upper part, but with our improved knowledge of ancient North Mesopotamian toponymy and geography and a reexamination of some of its dubious signs it is possible to reconstruct a few more geographical names. In view of the text’s historical importance

181. According to Steinkeller (1987b: 37), “the payment or non-payment of this tax [gún ma-da] provides us with a useful criterion for determining a given locality’s political status.” It will be considered in the final part of this section.

182. This indicator was used by Maeda (1992: 143–48) in compiling his list of “vassal states.” But he diluted it by including the cases in which ensis of various places made their appearance at Drehem. These could be simply civil governors of cities or provinces under the direct rule of Ur.

183. I was greatly helped by David I. Owen’s additions and corrections to *RGTC* 2 (Owen 1981) and his analytical repertory of Syrians mentioned in Ur III texts (Owen 1992), as well as by other publications that will be cited on the pages below.

184. It is mentioned only once, in the formula *Zi-ra lú-kin-gi₄-a Ì-mi-um lú-In-bu^{ki}*, in Keiser 1971: 502:28—a tablet in which the other recipients of animals are persons from seven inner core cities, except for two *lú-Su^(ki)* (i.e., people, from Šimaški). Inbu is not attested in records of other places and periods. A vassal royal city *I-NI-bu^{ki}* (*inib* being the construct of *inbu*) appears in Ebla texts, but Archi prefers to read it *I-bu₁₆-bu^{ki}*. The name of the ruler of Inbu resembles *Im-me-ia*, borne by a prince of Ebla in the Middle Bronze Age (inscribed silver bowl TM.79.Q.497, Archi and Matthiae 1979; Matthiae 1989a: 180).

185. The status of Nawar, the only Ur III reference to which has been discussed above, is unclear. Its location would suggest that it was a peripheral city-state, but its man at Drehem was a *gud₄-priest* and not a *lú-kin-gi₄-a*, so its direct dependence on Ur cannot be ruled out. The city of Mardaman in an inscription of Šu-Sin (Edzard 1960: 7, III:10) and in several other texts (*RGTC* 2:118; Sauren 1977: 10, text 6:8, republished by Steinkeller 1980: 2–3; Owen 1981: 255) appears in Transtigridian contexts (thus also in the Old Babylonian geographical text from Harmal, MSL 11:57, II:71); it cannot therefore be the homonymous city in northwestern Mesopotamia.

186. Civil 1967: 27, 37–38.

1'. GÁ 'x¹[]
PU[]
2'. ma-ḡa-zu[kʰi]]
3'. bu-uš[-a-an^{ki}]]
4'. 'šē¹-e[h-na dag]-da-aš zi-ku-u[m^{ki}]]
5'. e[b-l]a^{ki} ma-rí^{ki} tu-tu-ul^{ki} ma-n[e^{?ki}]]
6'. ur-gi₄-iš^{ki} mu-'x¹-gi₄-iš^{ki}
EZEN-ni-dIM[-X]'x¹
7'. 'gu₅¹-'u₄¹?-úb-la^{ki} a-bar-nu-um^{ki}
8'. ù kur giš-erin-kud ma-da-ma-d[a-bi]
9'. kur šubur-ra gaba-gaba a-ab[-ba]
igi-nim-ma 'x¹[]
10'. ù má-gan^{ki} ma-da[-ma-da-bi]
kur 'x¹ []
11'. bal-a-ri a-[ab-ba]]

191. It is shown on the archaeological map of northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia by B. Hrouda in Moortgat 1959 and on the map of northern Iraq in Mahmoud (1970: 126), the only other

Line 3'. Only the signs *bu/pu-uš* are extant. They cannot be understood, in the context of the inscription, as forming the name of the southern Mesopotamian city of Puš.¹⁹² A place in the right region that suggests itself here is *Bu-uš-a-an^{ki}/Bu-úš-a-an^{ki}* from Mari texts, located at the northwestern edge of the Ḥabūr Triangle, identical with *Bu-sá-nu-um* of the Old Babylonian Urbana Itinerary, three daily stages, or approximately 75–80 km, west of Ašnakkum (safely equated with Chagar Bazar), and probably also with *Be-ša-an-n[im]^{ki}* in a Chagar Bazar text from the reign of Šamši-Adad I.¹⁹³

The next line takes us to the same area. Its first sign, not transliterated by Civil, is recognizable as the old ŠĒ, which did not coalesce with KU till after the Old Babylonian period,¹⁹⁴ and the three heads of oblique wedges that remain from the following sign could have belonged to AH/EH/IH/UH. I thus restore unhesitatingly *šè-e[h-na Dag]-da-aš*, names of two cities in the Ḥabūr Triangle, attested in Sargonic tablets from Tell Brak.¹⁹⁵ *Šeḥna* has now been ascertained as the original name for the large

ancient sites shown on it being Nineveh, Assur, Nuzi, and Tell al-Fakhar (later identified as ancient Kuruḥanni). On the map in *RGTC* 10, it is placed on the wrong bank of the Lesser Zab. Not only Maḥūz but even the cuneiform Maḥāzu have not been included in the relevant volume of *RLA*. Cases of survival of ancient toponyms for centuries or millennia are not exceptional in Transtigridian Assyria and the area of Arrapha; cf. Kipšuna (Gefše), Ḥanusa (Ḥines), Kār-Mulissu (Karmalis), Urbilum/Arba'il (Irbil), Šušarra (Šemšara), Kašapa (Tell Kešaf), Diquqina (med. Daqūq, now Ṭa'ūq), Tarkuli (Tarkelan), Tišša (Tis'in), Kipri (Kifri, Kufri), Ekallate (Tell Haikal), and others.

192. As correctly noted by Civil 1967: 37.

193. ARM 13, no. 144:34, associated with Karḫatum and Ašlakka, both in the northwestern corner of the Ḥabūr Triangle; ARMT 26/1, no. 217:33–35, on the border of Yapturu (as in the previously cited text), a nomadic tribe west of the tributaries of the upper Ḥabūr. Urbana Itinerary: Goetze 1953a: 54, rev. III:18. Chagar Bazar: Gadd 1940, texts 975, 976, and 983; first sign of the place-name identified as BE, but Loretz (1969a: 214 no. 35:32; reedition of Gadd no. 975) transliterated it *Nu*? According to the hand copy in Loretz (1969b: pl. 13), the sign could be either BE or NU, but the former is more likely; thus read in *RGTC* 3:40. On Chagar Bazar = Ašnakkum: van Liere 1963: 120, accepted by Hallo 1964: 74 on the basis of the Urbana and Yale Itineraries corroborated by the data of the Mari texts. I have tentatively placed Buš'an at Tell Ḥanāfiz, a large mound on the Syro-Turkish border, at the right distance (ca. 75 km) from Chagar Bazar.

194. Gelb 1961a: 110–11, no. 290.

195. *Šè-eḥ-na^{ki}* appears, with other place-names, in two administrative tablets from Mallowan's excavations, F.1153:8 and F.1159:2 (hand copies of both in Gadd 1940: pl. 5; an improved copy of F.1153 is Loretz 1969b: pl. 35, no. 69). *Dag-da-aš* (without the determinative but clearly a place-name) appears in the above-mentioned F.1153:14, and as *'Dag¹-da-[āš^(ki)]* in one of the Sargonic tablets found in a "monumental building" in site F5, on the northern edge of Tell Brak, in the recent excavations by D. Oates and J. Oates (J. Oates 1990: 134), published by Illingsworth (1988: 90–91, no. 13:1); in both texts it stands next to *Tá-dum^{ki}* (later Taidi). There are no clues about which of the many mounds in the Ḥabūr Triangle east of the Ġaḡḡaḡ should be identified with Dagdaš, but in order to have it on the map, I placed it, as a simple possibility, south of Tell Farfara (my preferred site of Tādum/Taidi; cf. n. 174 above), for the northern part of the area dominated by Tell Farfara must be left for the important cities of Nawar, Ḥidar, and probably Azamḥul. In a study devoted to Ebla, it may be worthwhile to note that the noun *dag-da-su* appears in a mostly syllabically written passage of the Eblaic incantation ARET 5 3:II:6, while in the identical but mostly ideographically written passage ARET 5 1:rev:V:8 it is rendered maškim. e. g. i₄-ma, which was a high official who played an important role in relations between states (Archi in ARET 7: 227) and may be translated 'envoy' or 'ambassador'. There are other cases of cities in North Mesopotamia bearing names of functions or trades.

archaeological site of Tell Leilan; the city was renamed *Šubat-Enlil* by Šamši-Adad I, but both names were used after his death.¹⁹⁶ Reading *zi* instead of Civil's *gi*?, we obtain a third known toponym, *Zi-ku-u*[*m*^{ki}],¹⁹⁷ which appears as *Zi-ik-ku-ú*^{ki} in an administrative tablet from Chagar Bazar dated to the time of Šamši-Adad I,¹⁹⁸ and in an Old Assyrian letter from Kültepe,¹⁹⁹ in which a stopover at *i-na Zi-ki-i* is said to have occurred on the return journey to Assur, between *Lu-ḥa-a* and *Qá-wa-a*, thus placing Zik(k)û in the general area between Rās el-ʿAin and Viranşehir.²⁰⁰

Here ends (except for the misplaced Urgiš) the north Mesopotamian section of Šu-Sin's list. To the four restored city names (all of them new in Ur III documentation) should be added those of two cities attested at Drehem as sending ambassadors. One of them is *Šu-da-e*^{ki},²⁰¹ frequently mentioned in Mariote, Hittite, Middle Assyrian, and Neo-Assyrian sources, and located southwest of Diyarbakir (ancient Niḥ-riya), on a road connecting that city with Viranşehir (ancient Luḥa/Eluḥat).²⁰² The name of the other city appears with the spellings *Zi-da-núm*^{ki}, *Zi-da-nu-um*^{ki}, *Zi-da-ni-um*^{ki}, *Zi-ti-an*^{ki}, and *Zi-ti-a-núm*^{ki}.²⁰³ Its first sign should be read *ší* and the name be derived from the appellation of a hardwood tree, attested in Eblaic, Ur III records,

196. This was demonstrated by Charpin (1987b: 129–32) on the basis of Mari texts, in which the name is spelled *Še-eḫ-na-a*^{ki}. This led Charpin to read the first sign of its occurrences in Sargonic tablets as *šè*, rather than *su*₅ (Gadd 1940: 43) or *šù* (Kessler 1984: 22; but *sù*, p. 23). Tell Leilan has been the object of systematic excavations (under the direction of Harvey Weiss) that have yielded many important architectural and epigraphic finds. Another city of the Ḥabūr Triangle may be tentatively recognized in the Ur III document ITT 4 7310 = MVN 6 301:I:6, listed in Owen (1981: 249) as *é^dNin-ḥur-sag-Dar-lum-ma*, in which the sign LUM should probably be given its reading *gúm*, very frequent in Ur III texts. More than one locality called *Dar(a)gu(m)* is attested, but all of them were insignificant places, with the exception of *Da-ar-ki-im/Da-ra-ki-im/Ta-ra-ki-im* in Old Assyrian records (*RGTC* 4:14), a royal city on the route to Cappadocia, which appears in the sequence Qaṭara—Razama—Tarakum—Abum—Amas—Naḥur and was later recorded in a double entry of the Medinet Habu list No. 49, with Amas, as *ʾA-maš-ta-ra-k* (Astour 1968: 741–42). According to my reconstruction of the Old Assyrian routes, I tentatively locate it at Tell ʿArbīd.

197. The signs *gi* and *zi* are very similar in cuneiform scripts and often confused. The remainder of the last sign in line 4' is the left part of *um*.

198. Loretz 1969b: pl. 26, no. 45:IV:3; transliteration Loretz 1969a: 230. Loretz also restores [*Zi-ik-k*]u-ú^{ki} 1969a: 240, no. 57:I:3.

199. Clay 1927: no. 191:7.

200. Luḥā/Eluḥat/Eluḥut in Old Assyrian texts is a station between Naḥur (in the northwestern part of the Ḥabūr Triangle) and Admi, which I locate at Urfa on the basis of the Old Babylonian Urbana Itinerary (Astour 1989b: 687); an additional proof of this identity has been adduced by Harrak 1992. Luḥā/Eluḥat/Eluḥut was a major royal city at the time of the Mari archives. The only site in the steppe between Urfa and the probable location of Naḥur with sufficient water supply for a city of some importance is Viranşehir (Dillemann 1962: 83). Qawā corresponds to Qa'um in the Mari texts; from the context of its mention in ARMT 26/1 24, it seems to have been situated near the uppermost flow of the Ḥabūr—that is, below Rās el-ʿAin, bordering on the steppe between the Ḥabūr and the Balīḥ. I have accordingly placed Zikkum, as a simple guess, in a position north-northwest of Rās el-ʿAin, near the present-day road to Viranşehir, where the map shows Kara Tepe, a large mound according to Sachau's informants (1883: 226), ca. 20 km from Rās el-ʿAin and ca. 28 km from Viranşehir.

201. Nakahara 1928: no. 15:10; Sigrist, Owen, and Young 1984: no. 529:18.

202. On this location, see Astour 1992a: 6–7.

203. For its occurrences, see *RGTC* 2:244; and Owen 1981: 265.

and Akkadian lexical texts.²⁰⁴ Its attribution to north Mesopotamia is part of the theory that the arena of the Ugaritic Keret Epic was in this region.²⁰⁵ In particular, the two cultic sites of the goddess Asherah, *Šrm* and *Šdynm*, were explained as *Šurrā-ma* and *Šidyānu-ma*; and since *Šurrā* stood in the western part of the Tūr 'Abdīn massif, the likelihood is that *Šidiānu* also belonged to the same area.²⁰⁶ Because of the lack of additional information, its position on my map is purely conjectural.

Line 5' brings us to the Euphrates Valley and Syria proper. Its first three entries, Ebla, Mari, and Tuttul, are well represented in the Drehem records; the incomplete fourth name, which is new, will be considered in the appropriate context in section (d) below.

Line 6' begins, incongruously, with *Ur-gi₄-išk_i*, the city in the north-central part of the Ḥabūr Triangle,²⁰⁷ which appears in the Drehem tablets with the spelling *Ur-kišk_i*,²⁰⁸ as one of the “ambassadorial” peripheral states. It is followed by *Mu-^fx¹-gi₄-išk_i*, in which the vestiges of the second sign are incompatible with either *ug* or any of the signs for /u/, but which is beyond doubt an aberrant spelling for *Mu-ki-išk_i* in two Drehem tablets.²⁰⁹ This geographical name never occurs in records from the Middle Bronze Age but reemerges in cuneiform texts of the Late Bronze Age from Alalaḥ IV, Ḥatti, and Ugarit as the designation of an area consisting of the Plain of Antioch and adjacent hills around the city of Alalaḥ and, by extension, as an alternate name for the entire Kingdom of Alalaḥ, which transcended the limits of Mukīš proper.²¹⁰ Alalaḥ appears in Ebla texts (*A-la-la-ḥu^{ki}*, ²*A₅(NI)-la-la-ḥu^{ki}*) as one of the

204. At Ebla: VE 434: *ḡis.e me = si-ti-a-núm/mu*; in the incantation in ARET 5 1:III:4–5: *zi-da-nu a-ma-na-a* ‘*sidanu*-tree of the Amanus’? In Ur III texts: *zi-ti-a-núm*, *sù-ti-a-núm*. In Akkadian lexical literature: *šu-da-nu*, *ḡišu-ti-a-num*; see Steinkeller 1991.

205. As argued in Astour 1973. I consider the general idea of the article still valid, but its locations of *Ḥbr*, *Udm*, and **Ilḥ* were not quite accurate and should be replaced by those assigned to Ḥabura, Admi, and Eluḥat in the present section.

206. On the location of *Šurrā*, see Astour 1992a: 8–9. Additional circumstantial indications of a northwestern locale of Zidianum are (a) it bears the name of a tree, which points to a forested mountainous area; (b) as we shall see presently, a large number of artifacts made of this wood came to Nippur during the reign of Šulgi from Ebla; (c) the tree name, being first attested at Ebla in the archives period, is likely to be West Semitic; (d) in the Drehem documentation, the ambassador of Zid(i)anum is twice registered next to the ambassador of Mari, three times with the ambassadors of Mari and Ebla (see Owen 1992: 141–56, nos. 2, 3, 16, 32, and 35), as though he had arrived on the same Mariote boat with one or both of them; in one text, he is mentioned alone (Çiğ, Kizilyay, and Salonen 1954: no. 466); and in one text, with the ambassador of Šigriš in the Zagros (ibid., no. 473).

207. See n. 175 above.

208. Compare with the spellings *Ur-ge-eš* in the Old Babylonian Urbana Itinerary (Goetze 1953a) rev. III:22, and *Ur-gi-iš/is/is₇^{ki}* in Mari texts.

209. Boson 1936: no. 203:7 = Owen 1992: no. 1; A.2852, cited by Gelb 1938: 82, published in transliteration by Owen 1992: no. 44:5. Both texts, mentioning *Ga-ba-ba lú-Mu-kišk_i*, were composed on two successive days of Year 9 of Amar-Sin; but the inclusion of *Mu-^fx¹-gi₄-išk_i* in Šu-Sin’s list shows that it remained loyal to Ur III up to the end of Šu-Sin’s reign.

210. The name of the country in Hittite syllabic cuneiform from Boğazköy and Ras Shamra is written ^{kur}*Mu-kiš*, often with the Hurrian formative *-he/hi*, once ^{kur}*Mu-gi-i[š]*; its sole occurrence in Ugaritic alphabetic writing, *Mgšḥ*, speaks in favor of /g/. A town ^{uru}*Mu-ki-iš* is mentioned in three Alalaḥ IV tablets among other towns of the area; but since Alalaḥ does not occur along with it and there are no other

towns of the Eblean kingdom.²¹¹ There remained too little room after *Mu-^rx¹-gi₄-iš* to put a complete name on the line, so the scribe wrote the determinative at a certain distance from *-iš* and inscribed the next item on the additional half-line of the same case. But this place-name, *EZEN[?]-NI-^dIM-x-x*,²¹² is totally unknown, and there is no certitude how it should be read. If its first sign is indeed *EZEN*, Akkadian *isinnu* ‘festival’, then the toponym might be understood as **Isinni-Adad-xx* ‘festival of Adad-xx’ (compare *EZEN-^dŠul-gi^{ki}/I-šim-^dŠul-gi^{ki}, I-šim-^dŠu-^dSin^{ki}*)²¹³ or, seeing **Isinni-Adad* as a personal name (compare *I-zi-in-^dDa-gan*, an ambassador of Ebla),²¹⁴ as ‘**Isinni-Adad* (is) . . .’ (compare *^dŠul-gi-^hé-gál^{ki}, ^dŠul-gi-^dU tu^{ki}*, and so on—in other words, a town named for a local ruler. There are other possibilities, none of which brings us closer to solving the riddle.²¹⁵

The first of the two toponyms in *line 7’* was transliterated by Civil *^rx-x¹-la^{ki}* (actually there are three signs before *-la*, of which the third one is rather well preserved). This, naturally, brings to mind the city of *Gu₅-ub-la^{ki}*, whose ruler (“ensi”) Ibdati sent his ambassador, Idati, to Drehem in Year 9 of Amar-Sin, and is unanimously recognized as the famous Gubla, Greek Byblos, in Phoenicia.²¹⁶ To my inquiry whether such a restoration of the damaged name was possible, Prof. Civil kindly answered²¹⁷ that it was if the penultimate sign is read *úb* (one of the values of the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian ŠÈ-sign). The traces of the first sign are compatible with *KU* (*gu₄*), but they are followed in the hand copy by those of an apparently redundant sign, which should be assumed to render the vowel /u/ and whose size can allow only for *u₄*.

The second item in *line 7’* is *A-bar-nu-um^{ki}*, another “ambassadorial” state recorded in Ur III texts in the ethnic form *A-ba-ar-ni-um^{ki}*,²¹⁸ which later frequently recurs in Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe but only to designate a type of textile or garment,²¹⁹ not as a place visited by Assyrian merchants on their way to Cappadocia, which would have provided a clue to its approximate location. [*A*]-*bar-ni-u[m^{ki}*] is

indications that a town of that name actually existed, it is more likely that it was merely an alternate appellation for Alalah, as the principal city of the land of Mukiš.

211. See Astour 1988: 144 n. 34.

212. Civil (1967: 37) transliterated it *EZEN(x X[?]).NI.^dIM^[ki]*, but the hand copy shows no gap or traces of signs between *EZEN* and *NI* and has illegible traces of at least two signs after *IM*, with the presumable determinative *KI* lost after the break.

213. For the former, see *RGTC* 2:86–87; and Owen 1981: 253; the latter is mentioned in Steinkeller 1987b: 36 n. 56 and, in with reference, in Maeda 1992: 167 no. 38.

214. Owen 1992b: 119.

215. The signs *EZEN* and *BĀD* are very similar in Old Babylonian script; the somewhat irregularly shaped first sign of the name could be taken for the latter (Akk. *dūru* ‘wall, fortresses’), and the signs that follow it could be read phonetically, which would result in **Dūr-lí-an-im* ‘wall of the wild bull’ (cf. VE 731: *alim* = *lí-a-núm*, *lí-a-núm*).

216. Sollberger 1960; cf. Owen 1992: 155, no. 70, for an improved transliteration.

217. Civil, private communication, June 15, 1973.

218. Fish 1932: no. 468.

219. Occurrences listed in Bilgiç 1951: 32; *CAD* A/1 35–36; additional references in Veenhof 1972: 158 n. 268; most recent list in *RGTC* 4:12; discussion: Veenhof 1972: 123, 156–58.

listed among cities of the Transtigris in one exemplar of an Old Babylonian geographical list,²²⁰ but there is no proof that a place with this name actually existed in that very well-documented region, and its placement among western sites in Šu-Sin's list would be most unnatural; it is easier to assume that a scribe who had heard about Abarnium from his Assyrian contemporaries has inserted its name into his copy.²²¹ I. J. Gelb proposed the identification of Abarnium with Abarne, a place in the extreme north of Roman Mesopotamia, in the foothills of the Taurus, now Çermik, 35 km by road southwest of the point where the immemorially old trade route from Mesopotamia to Cappadocia begins its climb of the Ergani-Maden Pass.²²² This location is still plausible enough, despite several objections, none of them decisive, that might be raised against it.

The above notwithstanding, it is possible to suggest an alternate location for Abarnium. A variant of its name (with the Hurrian article *-(n)ni*) is attested in the fifteenth-century Naharina List of Thutmose III (no. 287: *ʾA-bā-rā-nā-n-nu₄*)²²³ and in the ninth century in a passage of Shalmaneser III's annals as *uruA-bar-na-ni*.²²⁴ In the latter source, the area to which the town belonged is clearly indicated. In 839, Shalmaneser III undertook his first invasion of Qaua (later Que, eastern Cilicia). With his army, strengthened with contingents of his north Syrian vassals, he crossed the Amanus (no doubt by the Arslan Bel Pass), conquered the cities of *uruLu-sa-an-da*, *uruA-bar-na-ni*, and *uruKi-su-ad-ni*, and set up images of himself—one "at the beginning of his [the local king's] cities," the other "at the end of his cities, over above the sea"²²⁵—that is, at the Syrian Gates, the traditional southeastern border of Cilicia, where the Amanus comes closest to the sea. The report shows that the incursion was short and limited to the eastern fringe of Cilicia, and it was there that Abarnani and the other two cities were situated.²²⁶ This location for the Ur III Abarn(i)um, just across the Amanus from Šu-Sin's Syrian vassals, would better agree with the position in Šu-Sin's list than with Çermik.

220. Nippur forerunner to *ḪAR-ra* XX–XXII, MSL 11:104, no. 277.

221. The Nippur list is not very consistent in the sequence of its entries. Thus, the remote overseas places *Ku-pi-in^{ki}* (no. 250), *Ma-gán^{ki}* (no. 253), and *Me-luḫ-ḫa^{ki}* (no. 255) are listed among Transtigridian and Babylonian cities. Similarly, in another Old Babylonian geographical list, one from Harmal, *Ka-ni-iš^{ki}*, the principal Old Assyrian establishment in Cappadocia, appears twice among Transtigridian cities (MSL 11:58, nos. 143 and 161).

222. Gelb 1935: 11 n. 134; 1938: 66–67. On Abarne (first attested in the fourth century A.D.) and the early Byzantine, Latin, Greek, and Syriac testimonies, see Dillemann 1962: 93–94; but his Persian etymology of the toponym is unfounded.

223. The ending in /u/ instead of /i/ is due either to the imprecision of Egyptian transcription or to treatment of the name as a Semitic nominative.

224. Fourth edition of the annals, found at Assur, published by Safar 1951: col. IV:26.

225. SAG *tam-di*; cf. SAG *ÍD Pu-rat-ti* in n. 152 above.

226. On Lusanda and Kisuadni and their relation to the well-known cities of Lawazantiya and Kizzuwadna (an alternate appellation of Kumanni as the capital of the Kingdom of Kizzuwadna) in Cataonia, north of the Taurus, see Astour 1965: 30–32. The reasoning is still valid, except for the acceptance (in n. 7 on p. 31) of Forrer's (1920: 86) identification of Abarne-Çermik with Abrania in Tiglath-pileser III's annals (*ARAB* 1: §775), which actually belonged to a quite different area in southeastern Armenia.

The next line, *line 8'*, states, 'and the country where cedars are cut with all of its lands,'²²⁷ —that is, the Amanus and adjacent areas. This comprehensive definition included, in all likelihood, the state of Uršu, which served for Gudea as the place for acquiring cedars and other kinds of timber and which because, for the same reason, the first Syrian city to enter the orbit of Ur III (in Šulgi Year 31, compared with the next earliest entry, that of Ebla, in his Year 44).²²⁸ Several ambassadors of Uršu are mentioned by name in Drehem tablets from the reigns of Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin,²²⁹ and the absence of that city in Šu-Sin's own list of vassals would otherwise be unexplainable.

Line 9' is even more vague and controversial. Each of its two geographical terms was the subject of divergent interpretations. It is known that the ideogram ŠUBUR stood for *Subartu* (it is glossed this way in the Old Babylonian copy of an inscription of Naram-Sin that will be considered below), but which specific region did Subartu represent?²³⁰ The safest way to determine the meaning of this notion in Šu-Sin's text is to proceed from its use in the inscriptions of Naram-Sin, whose feats, titles, and divine status were emulated by Šulgi and his successors. We have three pieces of evidence:

(1) The year name in a genuine Sargonic tablet from Umm el-Ğir (ancient Mugdan near Kish):²³¹ "In the year when Naram-Sin was victorious in the expedition to ŠUBUR^{ki} at Azuĥinum (and) captured Taĥiš-atil." Azuĥinum is attested in Old Assyrian, Mari, and Tell er-Rimah texts as a city in the southern part of the Ĥabūr Triangle.

(2) An Old Babylonian copy of an inscription of Naram-Sin²³² that refers to the same campaign or to its sequel. The king declares that he rules all the land of Elam up to Baraĥši and the land of Subartu (KALAM [Š]UBUR^{su-bar-tim}KI) up to the Cedar Forest; that he was the first king to go to *Tal-ĥa-tim*^[kl]; and that during his march the ensis of Subartu (ŠUBUR.KI) and the lords of the highlands (EN.EN *a-lí-a-tim*) offered their cereal offerings in front of him. Talĥatum, Old Assyrian Talĥat, Mariote Talĥayum, was a city in the northwestern part of the Ĥabūr Triangle (Idamaraz of Mari texts); it stood "on the latitudinal artery of Idamaraz [and was] the principal junction between the great centers of Mesopotamia and the rich regions of Cappadocia and Upper Syria."²³³

(3) An Old Babylonian, very damaged copy of the inscription of an Old Akkadian king, whom its publisher²³⁴ correctly identified with Naram-Sin. At the begin-

227. The expression *kur-giš-erin-kud* has been taken from the Sumerian poem "Gilgameš and the land of the Living," which however refers to an eastern Cedar Mountain; cf. van Dijk 1975: 73–74; Hansman 1976; Michalowski 1976: 168.

228. See the documentation in Owen 1992: 135 (Uršu) and 118 (Ebla).

229. See their list in Owen 1992: 133–35.

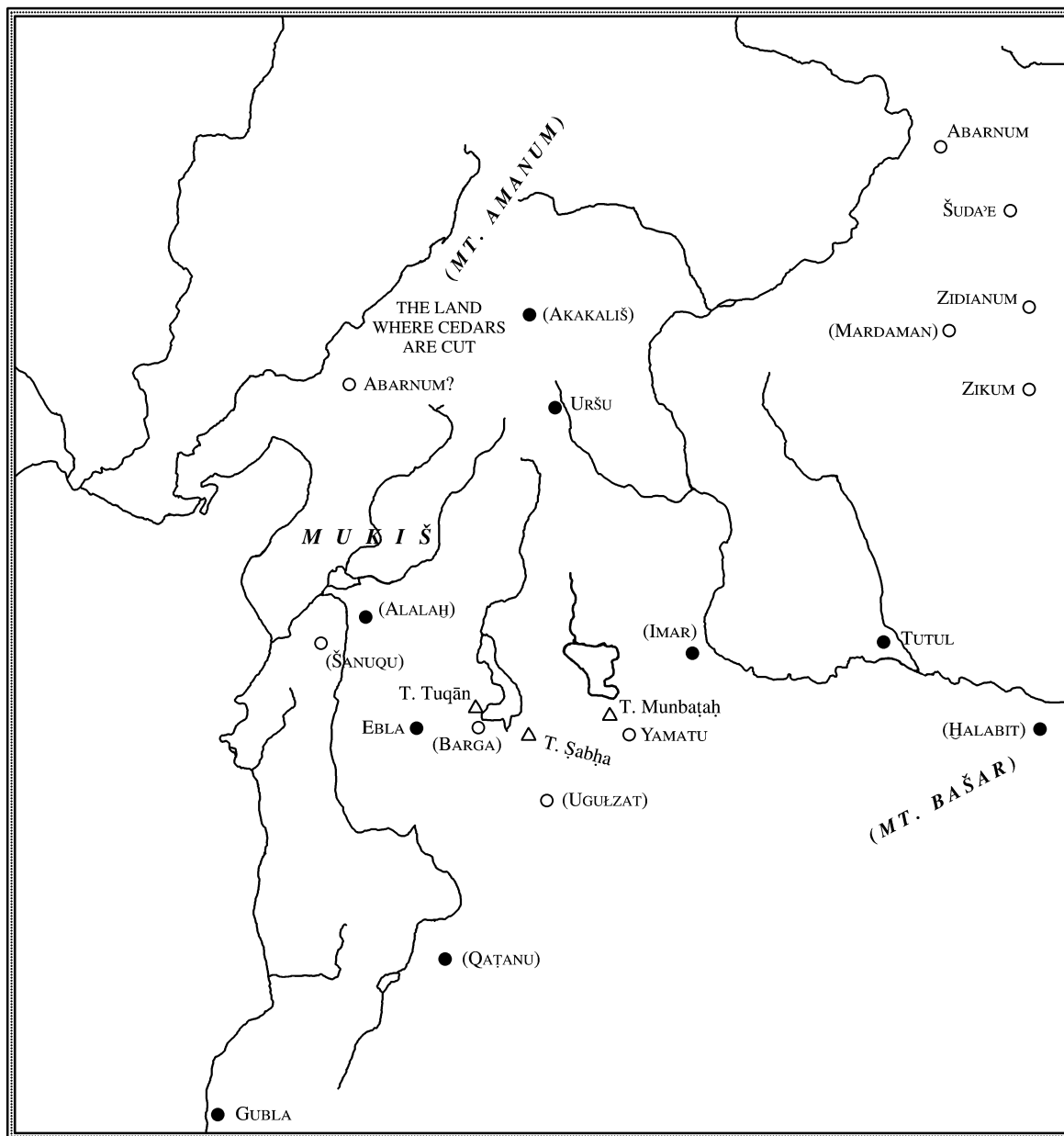
230. On the notion of Subartu, cf. Finkelstein 1955; and Michalowski 1986b.

231. Text AIA 8:III:7–IV:4, published by Foster 1982a: 21–22; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 51, D-13. On the name of the captured ruler, see W. Lambert 1983.

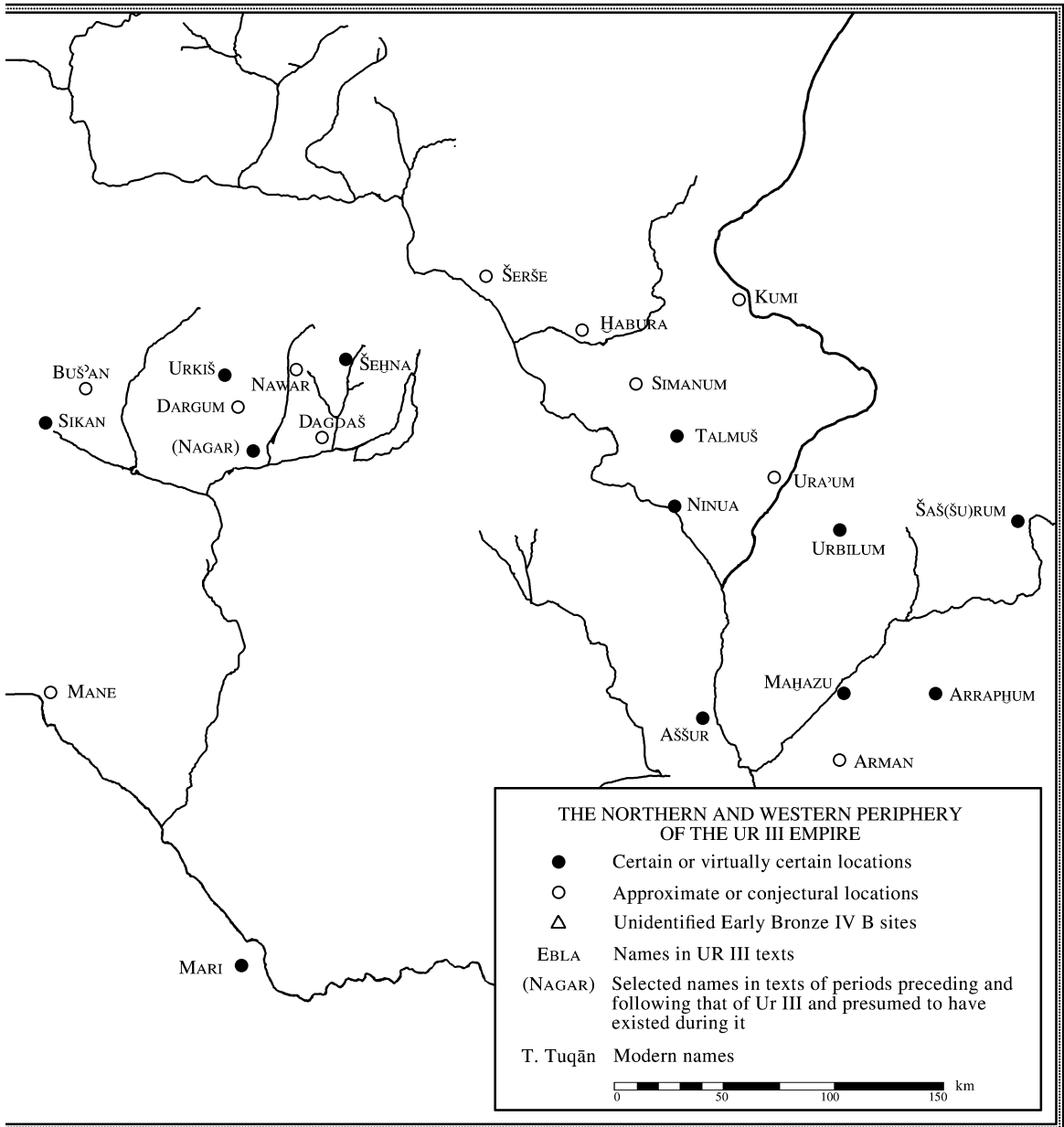
232. Hirsch 1963: 72–73, text Naram-Sin b 4 = Gelb and Kienast 1990: 249–53, text Naramsin C-3.

233. Pintore 1969: 279; compare pp. 268–71.

234. Michalowski 1986a; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 286–91, fragment C 6.



ning of the inscription, the king, whose name is lost but who bears the title, first used by Naram-Sin, “king of the four quarters (of the world),” calls himself ‘the one who broke the arms of all of Subartu’ (*ša-bir*₄ GIŠ.TUKUL ŠUBUR.KI *ga-lí-ì-su*). The preamble is followed by a list of conquered cities, which originally counted no fewer than 60, but many of which are lost entirely and of the others only the determinatives



remain; a significant number are mutilated beyond recognition; and of the ones that are preserved in full, several do not occur in any other sources. Nevertheless, there remain enough identifiable names to ascertain that the list combines the achievements of two campaigns that gave the names to two of Naram-Sin's years: the expedition to Subartu cited in point (1) above and the expedition to the sources of the

Tigris and the Euphrates²³⁵ adumbrated in the inscription referred to in point (2). Without entering into toponymic and topographic details that would demand too much space not directly connected with the basic topic of this study, let me simply state here that the recognizable sites can be located in the Ḥabūr Triangle; along the route from north Mesopotamia to the western and eastern sources of the Tigris; at the southern slope of the Taurus in the area of these sources; beyond the Taurus, in Sophene; and probably even farther north.²³⁶ All pieces of geographical evidence hang together, and Naram-Sin's physical presence in the region is proved by the find of his inscribed stele at Pir Hüseyin, 26 km north-northeast of Diyarbakir.²³⁷

Thus, we see that for Naram-Sin the term *Subartu* represented north Mesopotamia and extended northward to the Taurus and westward to the Cedar Forest—that is, the Amanus. Considering the fact that the southern part of the Amanus towers directly over the Mediterranean Sea, Naram-Sin's western limit of Subartu is virtually identical with Šu-Sin's. An extension of Subartu to northern Syria appears sporadically in Hittite records of the thirteenth century,²³⁸ but its application to north Mesopotamia or a portion thereof is characteristic of the Old Babylonian period: at Mari,²³⁹ Ešnunna,²⁴⁰ Babylon,²⁴¹ in the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin (of which the

235. Gelb 1962: nos. 231:iv:7 and 236:14; Hirsch 1963: 22, date 7; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 52, D-14; Carroué 1991: 114–15.

236. I gave a very short reconstruction of Naram-Sin's northwestern campaign in Astour 1995: 1407. In it, I surmised that Tell Brak possibly was Azuḫinum, the place of Naram-Sin's victory in Subartu; later (as Uzuḫinum) a stop on an Old Assyrian route to Cappadocia; then, in the Mari texts, a royal city in or near the Ḥabūr Triangle. Now I accept the identification of Tell Brak with Nagar in the light of the Tell Beydar texts.

237. Published by Naab and Unger 1934. The partially preserved inscription yields no historical or geographical data. The village of Pir Hüseyin (38° 06' N, 40° 23' E), at the foot of a large mound, appears on the map *Turkey 1:200,000*, sheet F-14: *Diyarbakir*, as Pir Hasan, but correctly in *Gaz.Turk*.

238. Landsberger (1954: 55 n. 99) rendered the difficult sign in line 11 of the Idrimi Inscription as SU.BIR₄ (Subartu) and explained it, from the context, as referring to the Kingdom of Ḥalab. But this understanding of the sign is disputed (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1981: 211, 237). There is no ambiguity in the letters of Ḥattušiliš III. In KBo 1 15 + 19 (+) 22 (a letter summarizing the previous exchange between Ḥattušiliš III and Ramesses II concerning the flight of Urḫi-Teššub, published in Edel 1994: 1.62; synthetic chart, 1994: 2.94), ^{kur}Šu-ba-ri-i is placed on Urḫi-Teššub's itinerary between ^{kur}Ḥal-ba-a and ^{kur}Ki-in-za, thus (as noted by Edel 1994: 2.95) corresponding to the land of Nuḥašše. In KBo 1 10:rev. 14–24 (letter to Kadašman-Enlil II), LÚ^{meš} Šu-pa-ri-i refers to the people of the Kingdom of Ugarit and Amurru, thus having the broad meaning of Syrians in general.

239. "The term applies, at Mari, to a portion of Upper Mesopotamia which included, in any case, the Ḥabūr Triangle," Kupper in ARMT 16/1 32. It should be noted that Šamši-Adad I, whose family originated from the Transtigris and who conducted many campaigns there, never used the term *Subartu* for that region or any part of it.

240. Speaking about the victory of Ibal-pi-El I over SU.BIR₄^{ki} and ḤÉ.NA^{ki}, which gave the name to his tenth year (Baqir 1949: 81), Charpin and Durand (1985: 307) stated: "For the Old Babylonian kings who concern us, Subartu is neither Aššur nor Ekallatum but the agglomeration of the little city-kingdoms where Zimri-Lim and Išme-Dagan tried, with various success, to extend their influence."

241. In the name of Year 37 of Ḥammurapi, the lands of Turukku and Kakmu (both in the Transtigris) are mentioned separately from the land of SU.BIR₄^{ki}. In the name of Ḥammurapi's Year 33, the "several cities of Subartu" that submitted themselves to his orders are mentioned along with Mari. However, Zalmaqum and Burunda to the west and north of the Ḥabūr Triangle, respectively) are listed along with MA.DA SU.BIR₄^{ki} as though they did not belong to that region. See ARM 1 19, in which

plot is fantastic, but the geography is perfectly realistic),²⁴² and in some Babylonian private business letters.²⁴³

On the other hand, in some of the last-mentioned Old Babylonian letters the appellation *Subartu* is applied to Transtigridian cities or to slaves purchased there.²⁴⁴ It is this much less-frequent geographical definition that Civil and Michalowski chose, without elaboration, for Šu-Sin's *Subartu*. Hence Civil translated the passage, "The country of Šubur on the shores of the upper lakes,"²⁴⁵ and Michalowski thought to be able to specify which of the two great Armenian lakes it was: "Subir, on the borders of the Upper Sea (i.e., Lake Urmia)."²⁴⁶ However, the appellation "Upper Sea" (in Sumerian or Akkadian), from Lugalzagesi to the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, designated the Mediterranean Sea, often in juxtaposition with "Lower Sea" (Persian Gulf), as in Šu-Sin's text under consideration. In two cases, both dealing with campaigns in Armenia by Tukulti-Ninurta I²⁴⁷ and Tiglath-pileser I,²⁴⁸ "Upper Sea"

Šamši-Adad I compares the farming conditions of the district of Tuttul (on the lower Balih) with those of *ma-a-at Šu-ba-a[r-ti]m*, thus excluding the former from the latter.

242. This literary work has survived mainly in Neo-Assyrian copies (Gurney 1955), but a quotation in a text from the Old Babylonian period (Finkelstein 1957) attests to the time of its original composition. Most recent English translation: Foster 1993: 257–65. The host of mythical Umman-Manda started the invasion at Buruṣḫandar (Buruṣḫanda, the westernmost Anatolian city reached by Old Assyrian merchants), then moved eastward and crossed the Ergani-Maden Pass (this passage, preserved only in Neo-Assyrian versions, has been badly distorted by copyists, but if unscrambled, it yields toponyms on both sides of the pass). Then follows: "The Umman-manda, their camp was at Šubat-Enlil, and into the midst of Subartu they all came down. They scattered 'the seas' and reached Gutium." Thus, Šubat-Enlil, Šamši-Adad I's capital, now Tell Leilan in the eastern part of the Ḥabūr Triangle (cf. nn. 195–96 above), was located in Subartu. For "the seas," or rather "the lakes," see further on in this section.

243. The relevant passages were collected and discussed by Finkelstein 1955, with additional documents in 1962: 75. In one of the latter, VAT 1176, a man gives a sum of money to another man for the purchase of a Subarian slave during a journey on the Euphrates road (*a-na* ŠAM 1 SAG.İR SU.BIR₄ *a-na* KASKAL ^{id}BURANUN). This shows that in the late Old Babylonian period (reign of Samsu-ditana) the land of Subartu extended, in the view of the Babylonians, at least to the Upper Euphrates.

244. Viz., Arramu, Ašuh, and Lubda (Finkelstein 1955: 1; the texts in question were also published in Finkelstein 1972 as nos. 35 and 89).

245. Civil 1967: 38.

246. Michalowski 1986b: 141.

247. Weidner 1959: text no. 2 (*ARI* 1: §710): "He always received at Assur the regular tribute of the forty kings of the lands Nairi and the lands on the coast of the [Upper] Sea"; text no. 19 (*ARI* 2: §795): "to the lands [Nairi and] the lands on the coast of the [Upper] Sea"; "I conquered all [the lands] Nairi and the lands on the coast of the Upper Sea." Here Nairi (southern Armenia, including the surroundings of Lake Van) is clearly distinguished from the lands on the Upper Sea, farther north. The Upper Sea cannot designate the Mediterranean Sea, which Tukulti-Ninurta I never reached.

248. See in *ARI* 2: §30: "60 kings of the lands Nairi . . . I chased at arrowpoint as far as the Upper Sea"; §69: "I conquered the extensive lands Nairi from the land Tumme to the land Dayenu and the Upper Sea" (Day(a)enu is known to have been situated at the sources of the Euphrates, in the area of Erzurum, far to the northwest of Lake Van and close to the shore of the Black Sea). Lake Van, wherever it is referred to by Tiglath-pileser I (who is the first to mention it; *ARI* 2: §§89, 152, 156) or his successors (Aššur-bēl-kala, *ARI* 2: §212; Shalmaneser III, see list in Parpola 1970: 346), is always called "Sea of the land(s) Nairi." See also *ARAB* 1: §641 (Shalmaneser III): "Conqueror from the upper sea and the lower sea of Nairi and (up to) the great sea of the setting sun"—the only cuneiform reference to Lake Urmia, here paired with Lake Van.

designates the Black Sea.²⁴⁹ It now remains to ascertain which the “seas” were that, in the passage of the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin quoted above,²⁵⁰ were scattered by the Umman-Manda after they came down to Subartu and camped at Šubat-Enlil but before they reached Gutium. Labat, in the commentary to his translation of the legend,²⁵¹ stated: “From [Burušhanda], the other stages of their migration will carry the Umman-Manda from the region of the lakes Van and Urmia (the ‘seas’), along the Zagros, to beyond the Persian Gulf.” Setting aside the improbability (even for a fantastic poem) of a route from Šubat-Enlil to Gutium via Van and Urmia, one should simply note that the pattern of the enumeration of the successive stages of the Umman-Manda’s march and the plain wording of the passage in question clearly indicate that “the seas” formed one single entity with Šubat-Enlil and Subartu. “The seas” (or “lakes”) are the marshy lagoons of er-Radd, an eastern tributary of the Ġag-ġag, that form the southeastern natural border of the Ḥabūr Triangle in a band some 70 km long and from 2 to 12 km wide, divided by a narrow neck of dry ground (hence the plural). The strip of land along their northern bank, part of the territorial complex administered from Šubat-Enlil, received its name *ma-a-at A-pi-im*^{ki} ‘land of canebrake’ from them; Šubat-Enlil itself is 27 km distant from their closest point. An important epigraphic testimony is provided by the Mariote letter ARMT 26/2 358, emanating from a high official at Šeḥna (Šubat-Enlil) and informing King Zimri-Lim that some Ḥaneans had occupied the entire district of the Lake of Ḥālabā (*te-em-tim*²⁵² *ša Ḥa-a-la-ba-a*^{ki}) and between the two Saphus (which are known to have belonged to the land of Apum) and had displaced the inhabitants of towns on the bank of the reeds; should the Ḥaneans be expelled from the land of Apum?

There are thus no valid reasons for placing Šu-Sin’s Subartu in the Transtigris and hypothetically extending it to one or both of the great lakes of Armenia. Note that in Šu-Sin’s inscription the Upper Sea is singular and its shores (*gaba-gaba*)²⁵³ are plural, as if referring to different segments of the coastline. Indeed, two of the listed states, Mugiš and Gubla (and perhaps a third one, Abarnum), were located on the Mediterranean Sea. But it is regrettable that the umbrella designation *Subartu* replaced the names of a number of individual cities between the Ḥabūr and the Euphrates and deprived us of possible clues to the occupational and political conditions in the eastern part of the former Ebla Empire.²⁵⁴

249. As convincingly stated by Diakonoff (1968: 126 n. 128, commentary on Tiglath-pileser I’s Armenian campaign of 1112): “Under ‘Upper Sea’ the annals have in mind not Lake Van, which is usually not designated thus, but the Black Sea. The Assyrians did not, apparently, differentiate it from the Mediterranean Sea, which, properly speaking, was called ‘Upper Sea’. . . . [I]t was evidently assumed that all three seas [including the Caspian] were connected.”

250. See n. 242 above.

251. Labat 1970: 311 n. 2.

252. For *têmtum* as a dialectal variant of *tâmtum*, see D. Charpin’s note *b* to ARMT 26/2 358.

253. Sumerian *gaba* and its Akkadian counterpart *irtu* literally mean ‘breast’, but they were also used in the sense of ‘edge’; see CAD I–J 186 and note in particular *gaba a = irat mē* ‘edge of the water’.

254. According to Sigrist (1993: 364), text MVN 13 529 (from the reign of Amar-Sin) mentions the presence of messengers from “the Balih” and four other places at Drehem. This would have been the only Ur III occurrence of a locality of the Ebla Empire east of the Euphrates so far. However, while the other

Šu-Sin's inscription concludes with "and Magan with all of its lands, the country (or mountain) 'x' [...] ²⁵⁵ beyond the [Lower S]ea." Magan (Oman or at least its northern part) maintained close relations with the Empire of Akkad under Sargon; Naram-Sin invaded Magan, captured its ruler, and took booty; Gudea mentions Magan several times as a source of timber, diorite, and copper. ²⁵⁶ Maritime trade with Magan was especially active at the time of Ur III, from Ur-Nammu to Ibši-Sin, when Magan was a major provider of copper in exchange for textiles. ²⁵⁷ A recently published tablet from Amar-Sin's Year 4 proved for the first time that Šu-Sin's inclusion of the distant Magan in his list of vassal states was neither an empty boast nor a claim based on Naram-Sin's conquest: it mentions, among other items, issuing three sheep and two goats to Wedum, the ambassador of Nadubeli, ensi of Magan. ²⁵⁸ Apparently, the formal recognition of Ur's overlordship was a precondition of the right to trade with the Mesopotamian empire.

(d) The Disintegration of the Ebla Empire

Despite the incompleteness of the Ur III documentation, one arrives at a clear picture of the breakup not only of the Ebla Empire at large but even of the Kingdom of Ebla proper. Let us consider the situation item by item.

(1) *Uršu*. This is the only vassal state of Ebla to appear by name in the Ur III records, but its case is characteristic. As we have seen, Uršu was still considered part of the imperial domain of Ebla at the time when Gudea purchased timber there. But some 66 years later (counting from Gudea's median regnal year), in Šulgi's Year 31 (2000), a short tablet ²⁵⁹ records the following (with necessary straightening of the order of words): "One female slave was delivered by the man of Uršu (in) royal dispatch. Expedited by Lugal-sisa, En-dingirmu (being) (title omitted). Seventh month, ninth day, the year in which Karaḥar was destroyed for the second time." ²⁶⁰

four place-names cited by Sigrist can be recognized in MVN 13 529 (as published in Sigrist, Owen, and Young 1984, and previously listed under the siglum FLP 254 in Owen 1981), nothing similar to "Baliḥ" can be found in the text in question or in any other text of the volume, as confirmed for me by D. Owen.

255. One would expect to find Dilmun here but, as stated by Civil (1967: 38) and clearly visible on the hand copy, the damaged sign could not have been the opening of dilmun (NI.TUK). No meaningful restoration of the sign seems possible.

256. For references, see *RGTC* 1:113–14, s.v. *Magan*. See also Potts (1986).

257. Oppenheim 1954: 13–15.

258. Spar 1988: no. 17:83–84; reprinted, in transliteration, in Owen 1992: 154–55, no. 69.

259. Nesbit 1914: no. III; corrected transliteration, Owen 1992: no. 39. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance given to me by Prof. D. I. Owen in clarifying the rather convoluted syntax of the tablet and by Prof. W. W. Hallo in finding the meaning of a rare Sumerian term (see next note). But neither of these scholars is responsible for my choice of solution or for the general interpretation of the tablet.

260. (1) l gemé (2) lú-Ur-šu^{ki} (3) níg-šu-ús-sa-lugal (4) mu-túm (5) ki Lugal-sí-sa (6) En-dingir-mu (7) blank line (8) iti Ezen-^dŠul-gi-/ta u₄-9 ba-zal (9) mu a-ra-2-kam-aš / Kára-ḥar ba-ḥul. The expression níg-šu-us-sa-lugal is a hapax. Nesbit translated it 'property belonging to the king', but Deimel (*ŠL* II,4:1108, sign 597, no. 288), quoting this occurrence, left it without interpretation. Prof. Hallo, in private communication on February 8, 1995, preferred to analyze it "as níg ('thing') which does the šu-ús action." On the basis of equations of šu-ús-(sa) with Akkadian

The term *mu-túm*, translated ‘delivered’ above, had a much stricter sense in the administrative language of Ur III, and of Ebla, before that.²⁶¹ At Ur III, *mu-túm* (or, unabbreviated, *mu-túm-lugal*)²⁶² was the general term for obligatory deliveries to the king (the royal economic establishment), including the payments in cattle by the military settlements (*erín*), known as *gun ma-da*,²⁶³ and tribute (*gú, gú-un*) from other cities.²⁶⁴ In this light, the sending of the woman slave to Šulgi by the “man” (that is, “ruler,” in Ur III and later usage) of Uršu was a token of his submission to the overlordship of the Ur III monarchy.²⁶⁵ The token’s relative insignificance could lead to considering dispatch a simple diplomatic gift, such as was practiced between Ebla and Kiš and of which there are numerous examples in the documentation of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. But such a suggestion is not valid in reference to the imperial protocol of Ur III, especially since Šulgi took very seriously its claim to world supremacy and did not recognize equal powers. The very fact that the woman was delivered via “royal dispatch” and that this was recorded on a separate tablet, unlike the general practice, testifies to the importance attached to the event by the Ur III bureaucracy. As noted on p. 95 above, Uršu was the first Syrian city to be inducted into the orbit of the Ur III Empire, no doubt because of its role as the gateway to the timber riches of Mount Amanus.

As we know, Ebla’s vassal states were free to trade with foreign powers,²⁶⁶ but an act of political submission to one of these powers was regarded as treason then²⁶⁷ (and ever after in the ancient Near East) and could entail heavy consequences for a guilty party. This means that Uršu was independent from Ebla by 2000 or became

words and roots in lexical literature, he put before me five options, of which I chose, “the equation of *šu-ús* not with *abāku* B . . . but with *apāku* A—‘send, dispatch’. . . . In that case your expression might mean something like ‘royal dispatch’.” He credited Sollberger with this explanation.

261. Some documents and occurrences illustrating the practice and the juridical status of *mu-túm* at Ebla have been presented in section 3 of Astour 1988 (in n. 84, *Zašaginu* should be corrected, with ARES 2 477, to *Zaburru*). Of other numerous *mu-túm* texts, one may mention ARET 1 30, a lengthy list of contributions from dignitaries, vassal states, and some nonroyal cities, with the subscription *mu-túm en*. *Mu-túm* appears in the Sumero-Eblaic vocabulary, VE 1141, but unfortunately without its Eblaic equivalent.

262. Maeda 1992: 136–37, 139. The appendix to this study (pp. 165–72) lists 89 communities and their officials who delivered the taxes. The latter are differentiated by categories, *mu-túm(-lugal)* being designated by figure 1. It is attested in 57 communities, sometimes repeatedly, sometimes along with other categories. In all cases, *mu-túm(-lugal)* is found in texts written before the formalization of *gun ma-da* in Šu-Sin Year 3.

263. For example, in Philip Watson (1986), register 4, reproduced with corrections by Owen (1988: 112) and Maeda (1992: 137). Though it comes from the early part of Šu-Sin’s Year 3, the cattle deliveries of three *eríns* and two other payers are defined as *mu-túm*, and the term *gun ma-da* is not used at all.

264. For example, in the text reproduced by Michalowski (1978: 37), NCFT 1628, Amar-Sin Year 4, in which tribute (*gú-un*) from temples at Zimudar is considered part of *mú-tum-lugal*.

265. The editors of ARET translate *mu-túm* by ‘apporto’ (‘contribution’) and ‘consegno’ (‘delivery’, with the connotation of formality and ordering). *Šurubtu*, the Akk. equivalent of *mu-túm*, is translated in *AHw* 1287, usage 2, by “Abgabe” (‘tax’).

266. See Part 1: 59.

267. See the cases of Gasur and Adu, Part 1: 44–46.

independent in that year. When ambassadors from Syrian cities began to arrive at Drehem from Šulgi Year 44 on, the envoys of Uršu appeared there along with, and on the same level as, the envoys of Ebla.

(2) “*The Country Where Cedars Are Cut.*” This is the eastern slope of the Amanus and the adjoining plains. The words *ma-da-ma-d[a-bi]* ‘with all of its lands’ indicate that at the time of Šu-Sin it consisted of several entities. However, the scattered data of the Ebla archives point to its belonging to the direct domain of Ebla. Thus, an offering is recorded to *ḏI-da-kul Ḑa-ma-an*^{ki}.²⁶⁸ Idakul was a specifically Eblean god and, in particular, the patron deity of the central treasury and management office of Eblean state property.²⁶⁹ The southern part of the Amanus ridge, known in the second and first millennia as Mount Adalur/Adilur/Dilur/Atalur,²⁷⁰ appears at Ebla as *Da-lu-ri*^{ki}.²⁷¹ A fragmentary Ebla text mentions *Gú-nu-gú*^{ki}.²⁷² Its location was revealed by the publication of an Old Assyrian (“Cappadocian”) tablet²⁷³ which records, in the following order, payments to different persons of Sam’al (Zincirli); exchange of goods for logs and payments to the *kaššu* (transit tolls collector) and his wife at Kunukum; payment to the guide in the mountains; payments in three more cities (on the other side of the mountains). Hence, Kunukum was located west of Sam’al, in a forested area, near a pass that carried a trade road across the Amanus; and Sam’al (Zincirli) is only 5 km from Fewzipaşa at the foot of one of the major Amanus passes.

Two other places in the same region, ^{uru}*Ka-an-ni-še* and ^{[ku]r}*Ar-ši-ni-i*, were located east of the city of Ḥaššu according to a text from the Old Hittite Kingdom.²⁷⁴ They appear, much earlier, in an Eblean text enumerating “seventeen ‘countries’ in the hand of the king of Ebla”²⁷⁵ as *Ga-ni-šu*^{ki} and *Al₆-šúm*^{ki}.²⁷⁶ The grouping of these places is not accidental: the identifiable entries of the list were all located in the

268. ARET 4 18 §18, already mentioned in Astour 1988: 143 and n. 32. My spelling is conventional and plays no role in the present context.

269. *ḏI-da-kul* *Sa-a-za*^{ki} occurs several times in the cultic texts published by Pettinato 1979b.

270. Hittite occurrences: *RGTC* 6:54; Babylonian, Reiner 1956: 132–33, 146; Neo-Assyrian, Parpola 1970: 55. On its location, see Astour 1997b: 4.

271. ARET 8 541 §23.

272. ARET 3 272:II:2; to be normalized /Kunuku/.

273. By Nashef 1987: 18–19, text no. 7, tablet c/k 441; the toponym in question, *Ku-nu-kam*, appears in lines 7 and 11. For its identification with *Gú-nu-gú*^{ki}, see Astour 1989: 697. In ARES 2 it does not appear, having been inadvertently telescoped with the unrelated *Gú-nu-gú-nu*^{ki}; cf. Astour 1997a: 334.

274. KBo 18 151 (Middle Hittite copy), published by Ünal and Kammenhuber 1974. I have discussed in detail the location of Ḥaššu, the earlier occurrence of the two toponyms in question in the Ebla archives, and the attribution of the Hittite text to the events of Ḥantiliš I’s Syrian expedition in Astour 1997b (various sections).

275. TM.75.G.2136, first published by Pettinato 1978, then by Archi 1989, with some changes in reading and a list of other occurrences and variant spellings of the place-name *Ga-ni-šu*^{ki}. The nonidentity of that city with Kaniš in Cappadocia has already been noted in Part 1: 68 and in Astour 1988b: 153.

276. *Al₆-šúm*^{ki} may be considered a lambdization of **Ar-šum*^{ki}, as Archi (ARET 3: 404 §2.5:2) admitted for the personal name *Al/Ar-šum* (the sign *al* was subsequently transcribed *al₆*). The suffix *-ni-i* in the Hittite citation may have been Hurrian, but *-in/-inu* is a frequent suffix in Eblean toponymy and anthroponymy, which antedate the earliest attestation of Hurrians in Syria and Mesopotamia. At the time of Ḥantiliš I, Aršini was ruled by a king.

northern part of Ebla's possessions.²⁷⁷ At the time of Šu-Sin, however, the cities of that region communicated with Ur independently of Ebla.

(3) *Mukiš*. As was shown above (pp. 92–93 and nn. 209–11), *Mukiš* (or *Mugiš*) was the name of a region consisting of the Plain of Antioch and adjoining hill areas, with its capital at Alalāḥ (Aḩana) in the Late Bronze Age. Besides being listed among the entities depending on Ur III in the Šu-Sin inscription, it is known to have sent envoys to Drehem. Its name reemerges for the first time in the biographical inscription of King Idrimi, found not in situ but composed soon after his death in about 1480—that is, at the end of Level V of Alalāḥ.²⁷⁸ *Mukiš* does not appear in the Ebla archives but Alalāḥ does, and not just it but several towns that are known to have belonged to *Mukiš* or to have been transferred from *Mukiš* to Ugarit in the Bronze Age, and/or to the successor state of *Mukiš*, called Patina or Unqi in the Neo-Assyrian records.²⁷⁹ Neither of them is known from the Ebla texts to have a king or to belong to a client kingdom. The exploitation of the region by the office of economic management (Sa-za_x^{ki}), headed by the vizier, is illustrated by an account tablet of various assets,²⁸⁰ the final item of which (§15) says, “1700 minas of silver, the value of boxwood (and) *argum*-wood, belonging to Ibbi-Zikir.”²⁸¹ Seventeen hundred minas (= 799 kg)²⁸² of silver is a very large amount, whether it was for wood already cut and measured or was an estimate of the timber still standing.

277. Besides Ganišu and Alšum, five cities in the list belonged to the district of Lu'atum, on which see Astour 1988: 142–43 and n. 29. A sixth, *Za-bur-rúm*^{ki}, often mentioned at Ebla, recurs as ^{uru}*Za-bu-ú-ri* in KBo 28 82:19 (originally published as SBo 2 3 in Güterbock 1942: 36–37), a letter from a Middle Assyrian official in north Mesopotamia to two Hittite dignitaries of the kingdom of Carchemish, to the jurisdiction of which that city belonged. It had retained its name as Zambur (recently renamed Kovanlı), 27 km west of the ancient site of Carchemish. On its status in the Ebla Empire, see ARES 2 477 and Bonechi 1990: 163. The purpose of the list is not stated, but it belongs to the same type as the enumeration of cities “in the hand of the king of Ebla” in the preamble to Ebla's treaty with Abarsal (TM.75.G.2420, published by Sollberger 1980a and, minus the preamble, by Edzard 1992). It probably was a draft for a similar preamble in a treaty with some other client state, perhaps, to judge from its northern geographical character, with Ursa'um (Uršu).

278. On the chronology of Idrimi and the posthumous inscription in his name, see Astour 1989a: 18–22.

279. See the partial list of such towns in Astour 1988: 144 nn. 34–37, but correct (in the light of later publications and collations) NA ^{uru}*Sa-gi-il-lu* to ^{uru}*Ir-gi-il-lu* (Tadmor 1994: 67 n. 4), already in the list, and Eblean *Ar-ma-lu*^{ki} to *La-ar-ma-lu*^{ki}; remove *U₉-r[a]-aš*^{ki} (actually *U₉-gú-aš*^{ki}), *Tal-mi*^{ki} (actually *Ar-mi*^{ki}), and *Kul-ba-an-dar*^{ki} (identical with *Kul-ba-an-nu*^{ki} in a different area); add *Al₆-du-bí/bù*^{ki} (Alal. IV ^{uru}*Al-du/tu-be*), *Gu-la-an*^{ki} (Alal. IV ^{uru}*Ku-la-an-te*, NA ^{uru}*Kul-la-ni(-a)*), *Gú-še-pù*^{ki} (Alal. IV ^{uru}*Ku-ši(-ip)-pu*), *La-za*^{ki} (Alal. IV ^{uru}*La-(aš-)*^{ki}), *Lu-la-bí*^{ki} (Alal. IV ^{uru}*Lu-lu-bi-ia*), *Si-la-ḩa*^{ki} (see in the text below), *Su-si*^{ki} (Alal. IV ^{uru}*Su-si-e*), *Ša-na-zú*^{ki} (Alal. IV ^{uru}*Ša-na-zu*), *Ša-nu-gú*^{ki} (Alal. VII and IV ^{uru}*Ša-nu-qá*, Ugarit ^{tnq/uru}*Ša-na-qi*), *Zam_x-rí-tù*^{ki} (Hitt.-Ugar. ^{uru}*Za-mi-ir-ti*). There are more Eblean towns whose names recur in Alalāḥ texts, but they were located outside *Mukiš*.

280. TM.82.G.266, one of the five tablets found outside the archive room L.2769 and the adjacent court L.2752 and published by Archi 1993b (text 2 of his edition).

281. TM.82.G.266 rev. V 4–7: 1 li 7 mi ma-na kù:bar₆ / níg-sa₁₀ / GIŠ-TÚG (taškarin) / GIŠ-ir-nun / (uninscribed) / obv. VI:1: lú I-bí-Zi-kir. The sign *ir* is written on top of *nun*. Ibbi-Zikir was the last vizier of Ebla in the Mardih IIB1 period.

282. Computation by Archi (1993b: 18), based on the weight of an Eblean mina of 470 g (Archi 1987a).

The reason for attributing Ibbi-Zikir's timber to Mukiš rather than to "the country where cedars are cut" is that it contained no cedars but consisted of boxwood and a conifer with fragrant resin called *argum*, probably corresponding to Akkadian *argānu*.²⁸³ The principal, and perhaps the only, source of the highly valued boxwood for the ancient Near East was an area of low mountains south of Antakya, known as Ġebel Quşeir in modern times and as Salḫe/Salḫi²⁸⁴ in the Late Bronze Age. At Alalah IV, it was the name of a town and of a district, one of the three subdivisions of Mukiš according to AT 395. When the pharaoh asked Rib-Addi of Byblos for boxwood, he replied, "from the mountains of Salḫi²⁸⁵ and from the city of Ugarit it is procured." The partition of the defeated Mukiš by Šuppiluliumaš I gave the southern part of Salḫi, with the homonymous town, to Ugarit.²⁸⁶ The renown of the Ġebel Quşeir as the "boxwood mountain" preceded and followed the Late Bronze Age. Yaḥdun-Lim, king of Mari (ca. 1750–1735), marched to the Mediterranean Sea and "entered the Cedar and Boxwood Mountain (*sic*), the great mountains."²⁸⁷ In the great bilingual compendium ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu*, essentially compiled in the Old Babylonian Period,²⁸⁸ there is a list of mountains with their characteristics,²⁸⁹ entry 12 of which is KUR *Zil*^{zi-el-ḫu-šú}*ḫuš* (copy A) or KUR *Zi-il-ḫu-ša* (copy B), MIN (i.e., KUR) *tas-ka-ri-in-ni* 'the boxwood mountain'.²⁹⁰ As seen by M. Rowton, the "Boxwood Mountain, Mt. Zilḫušu, [is] not improbably Hurrian Zilḫuše²⁹¹ for local Zilḫa, a mountain (?) in the district Zalḫe where boxwood is attested in an Amarna letter."²⁹² And even in the records of Tiglath-pileser III one finds KUR *Am-ma-na-na* KUR ^{giš}TÚG 'Mount Ammanana, the boxwood mountain'²⁹³ or simply KUR

283. VE 1042: *ir-nun* = *ar-gú-um*. In Akkadian, IR.NUN is the ideogram for 'fragrant pomade' (Labat, *Manuel* no. 232). In Arabic, *araḡa* means 'to emit a fragrance'; in Akkadian, there are a few other derivatives of this root, including *argānu*, a tree that in the lexical texts is associated or compared with various conifers but not with the cedar tree (^{giš}*erin*, *erēnu*).

284. Usually written with an initial *za*, hence normalized *Zalḫe/Zalḫi*. But the spellings *Slḫ* (frequent in Ugaritic) and ^{kur}*Sa-al-ḫi* at Emar (Arnaud 1986: no. 23:3, 14) speak for *Salḫe/Salḫi*, as implemented by Moran 1987 in his translation of EA 126:5.

285. KUR^{meš} *Sà-al-ḫi* should be translated 'mountains', not 'lands', as most recently shown by Moran (n. 284 above). Salḫi did not contain a number of political or administrative units but was only a district of the land of Mukiš, which was itself one of the constituent parts of the Kingdom of Alalah.

286. The territorial gains of Ugarit are summarized, in general terms, in Astour 1981a: 20–21.

287. Commemorative inscription on foundation bricks of the temple of Šamaš at Mari, published by Dossin 1955: cols. II:3–III:3, pertinently cited by Archi 1993 in his commentary on text 2 §15.

288. Oppenheim 1964: 247; Civil 1987: 131; Reiner 1956: 131.

289. ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* tablet XXII, section 1, in MSL 11:23–24 (earlier in Reiner 1956: 146–47, not complete). It is similar to but not identical with the mountain list in the *Lipšur* litanies, published by Reiner 1956: 132–35.

290. In *Lipšur*, the only 'boxwood mountain' (KUR ^{giš}TÚG), entry 12, is called KUR *Di-il-ur*. But this is a repetition in a variant form of entry 10, KUR *A-dil-úr* 'the cypress mountain' (KUR *A-da-lu-úr* of ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* XXII, section 1:11).

291. The derivation of the suffix *-šu* or *-uš(u)* from Hurrian *-(š)še* is possible but not obligatory. The suffixes *-šu* and *-uš* are attested in Old Akkadian onomastica (Gelb 1961a: 143–44) as well as at Ebla.

292. Rowton 1967: 270. See below on a form of the hypothetical "Zilḫa" in Eblean toponymy.

293. Tadmor 1994: 58 (Ann. 19*:6), 88 (Ann. 22:2).

gišTÚG,²⁹⁴ which is firmly established as Ġebel Quşeyr because of the geographical context of its occurrences.²⁹⁵

In a list of the offerings of statutes, figures of ravens and eagles, cups, and other items to various deities, one finds an offering of the queen to ^d1*Ku-ra Si-la-ḥa*^{ki}.²⁹⁶ *Silaḥa* is an epenthetic form of **Zilḥa*, which Rowton concluded is a variant of *Zalḥe* (*Salḥe*), as we have just seen.²⁹⁷ Another city that appears in the records of Ebla (*Ša-nu-gú*^{ki}), Alalakh VII and IV (^{uru}*Ša-nu-qà*^{ki}), and Ugarit (*Tnq*, ^{uru}*Ša-na-qi/qi*)²⁹⁸ may also be assigned to the same area on the basis of an Eblean document that lists it as having made a delivery of boxwood.²⁹⁹ All of this evidence confirms that the area later known as Mukiš was a direct possession of the Kingdom of Ebla. Yet by the reign of Amar-Sin it was a separate political entity. It seems that archaeology may provide independent evidence of the transformation of Alalakh from a provincial town to a royal capital; the problem is in determining the chronology of this stage in the city's history.

Sir Leonard Woolley, the excavator of Alalakh, divided its history into seventeen levels.³⁰⁰ Level XIII was marked by the erection of a large building in the very spot where palaces would succeed each up through Level VII. In Level XII, it was replaced by a much larger edifice of palatial style.³⁰¹ But Woolley's chronology, especially of the early levels, has been found to be far off the mark, starting with his attribution of the city's beginnings to approximately 3400, which is about a thousand years too early.³⁰² Proceeding from Woolley's reports and illustrations, some archaeologists doubted the presence of Amuq I (2400–2250) and Amuq J (2250–2000) ceramics at

294. Tadmor 1994: 105 (Stele II B:13').

295. After Tiglath-pileser III, Ammanana was mentioned by Sennacherib (*ARAB* 2 §390, repeated in §411) as a mountain where alabaster was extracted and by Nabonidus (Grayson 1975, chronicle 7 I:11–12; W. Lambert 1969: rev. IV:57–64) as a mountain area and city in which he devastated and massacred the inhabitants. The dominating conviction for a long time has been that Ammanana (or Ammanana, as it was read in early publications of Tiglath-pileser III's records) was the Antilebanon. A detailed refutation of this view would belong to a study of the Neo-Assyrian period, not to this study. I shall therefore limit myself to only one argument. In Tiglath-pileser III's annals, the list of annexations reflects the conquests of 740–738; in the stele, which was erected in 737, the conquests up to that year. In the latter document, the Boxwood Mountain is unambiguously listed among actually annexed areas of northern Syria and not just as a landmark on the southern border of the whole region. But the Antilebanon (and the plains on both sides of it) belonged to the Kingdom of Damascus. Tiglath-pileser III's first expedition into Palestine took place in 734; the campaign against "the land of Damascus" began in 733 and ended in 732 with the capture of its capital. The annexation of the country to Assyria and its division into provinces could not have occurred before the end of 732 or the next year.

296. MEE 2 48:obv. VI:4–VII:6.

297. *Salḥe* remained an important cultic center under the rule of Ugarit, but now its patron deity was Anath (RIH 77/10B = KTU 1.168:8–9).

298. See ARES 2 419, s.vv. *Ša-nu-gú*^{ki}, *Ša-nu-gú*^{ki} maḥ, and *Ša-nu-gú*^{ki} tur; AT °271:i2, 180:42; van Soldt 1996: 691, s.v.; and the note by Weselius 1983.

299. ARET 3 337:rev. IV:3–5: *Ša-nu-gú*^{ki} su-mu-tag_x gišTÚG. A delivery of boxwood is also mentioned in ARET 3 201:III, but its place has not been preserved in the small fragment.

300. As expounded in Woolley 1953 and 1955.

301. Woolley 1953: 49, 51–58; 1955.

302. Woolley 1953: 38–41; 1955: 8 et passim.

Alalah³⁰³ or even claimed outright: “No Phase J or earlier material has been published from the site. . . . All of ‘Atshana’s development was post-phase J. . . .”³⁰⁴

Williams and Hassert submitted the journals and files of Woolley’s expedition to critical examination and found them frequently inaccurate, with data sometimes changed, and the published reports not always in agreement with the field notes; according to their revision, the two earliest levels, XVII and XVI, correspond to the end of Amuq J.³⁰⁵ But all of these speculations were nullified by the multiple references to Alalah in the Ebla archives of the Mardih IIB1 period that coincided with the phase Amuq I.³⁰⁶ An unambiguous and contemporaneous mention of a city (especially with as specific and unique a name as Alalah) has precedence over conclusions drawn from ceramic data (especially if they are as confused and scarce as in the case of the early levels of Alalah).³⁰⁷ Under these conditions, how can one locate Levels XIII and XII in time?

I am now proposing an approach that is admittedly very rough and approximate but no more so than the datings of the ceramic phases of Amuq or of the historical periods of Ebla. I proceed from the premise that the Mardih IIB1 period lasted for over one hundred years and began about 2400 (low chronology) or a little earlier and that Level XVII, the earliest at Alalah, began at the same time. I have calculated elsewhere³⁰⁸ that Level VII of Alalah—the first to contain an archive—began in 1650. This leaves 750 years for the first ten levels, or 75 years per level on average. Of course some of them may have been longer and some shorter, so we may assume a margin of 25 years either way for each of them. By this kind of dead reckoning we obtain 2100–2025 for Level XIII and 2025–1950 for Level XII.

The first bracket compares (always in terms of low chronology) with the rule of Gudea (2074–2059), when the Ebla Empire still reached all the way to Uršu, and the latter compares with the duration of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2048–1940), especially with the time from 2000 (Year 31 of Šulgi, when the first tribute from a Syrian city is recorded) to 1969 (Year 6 of Šu-Sin, when envoys from Syria are mentioned for the last time at Ur III). I do not think that the agreement between the archaeological evidence from Alalah thus dated and the Ur III written testimony on the advent of kingship in Mukiš is coincidental.

(4) *Tuttul*. The story of Tuttul in the post-archives period resembles that of Alalah. It too had been a direct possession of Ebla in the Mardih IIB1 period. This, however, was repeatedly denied by Archi, who insisted that the area of Ebla’s domination

303. Mellink 1957: 396.

304. R. Braidwood and L. Braidwood 1960: 521. As late as 1988 (when their survey of Syrian archaeology was completed), Schwartz and Weiss (1992) did not say a word about Alalah because their lower limit in time was 2000.

305. Williams and Hassert 1978.

306. For their contemporaneity, see Matthiae 1979: 66; Mazzoni 1985: 9–12.

307. One must remember that the lowest levels at Aḡana were beneath the present-day groundwater table and that the sherds ascribed to them were extracted from the unstratified liquid mud that filled the caisson lowered into it (Woolley 1953: 39–41).

308. Astour 1989a: 10.

ended at Imar, while Tuttul already belonged to Mari.³⁰⁹ The question must be considered in addition to what was said about it earlier in Archi's study. None of the points adduced by Archi proves that Tuttul was politically different from other Eblean cities. No *en* ('king'), *lugal* ('governor'),³¹⁰ *abba* ('elder'), or *ugula* ('overseer') is reported for Tuttul, but neither are any of them mentioned for the cities that were to play a notable role in the second millennium, such as Alalah, Aštata, Carchemish, Dunanab, or in 25 out of the 39 places that provided contributions for the god Idakul.³¹¹ There were Mariote merchants at Tuttul—but they were also at 30 other cities or towns of Ebla.³¹² Kings of Mari and their elders received payments at Tuttul but more often at the border city (on the Eblean side) of Manê or at Alaga (DU^{ki}), Azu, Ir(r)aku, Irkut, Zalagatum, or Zarbat, all of which are attested in other texts as belonging to Ebla.³¹³ Moreover, the silver and gold that the Mariote rulers received in those places were not taxes but installments on the indemnity that (as Archi has correctly seen) Ebla agreed to pay to Mari in exchange for Mariote evacuation of the occupied Eblean territory;³¹⁴ they were delivered by people who, in other texts, are identified as Eblean high dignitaries, some of them *lugals* (in the Eblean meaning of the title, 'governors'). Thus the Eblean jurisdiction over Tuttul cannot be denied. Archi, however, adduced the following argument in favor of his politicogeographical conception: "This is also proved by the fact that Enna-Dagan, king of Mari, relating the undertakings of his predecessor, Iblul-II, reminds that Emar was conquered more than once but he does not mention Tuttul, no doubt because that city has already been loyal to Mari."³¹⁵ The answer is that Enna-Dagan mentioned in his *aide-mémoire* the cities and towns where the Mariote army fought and won,³¹⁶ omitting all of the others on its itinerary up the Euphrates, which (according to Eblean documents about post-war repercussions) were punished for not resisting the enemy.³¹⁷ Enna-Dagan did not even refer to Adu, whose shift from Eblean to Mariote allegiance is described in a document that apparently also originated in the chancery of Mari.³¹⁸

309. Archi 1985c: 220; 1988b: 5 (cf. Part 1: 50 and n. 310); 1990a: 199–200.

310. The only persons called by the title *lugal* and mentioned in connection with Tuttul were kings of Mari who came thither to collect installments of the war indemnity from Ebla.

311. Published by Archi 1979a.

312. They are enumerated in Part 1: 59 n. 357.

313. On Manê, see the next section of this part. Alaga was the assembly point of many work teams provided by Ebla, the "Treasury," and Emar, for purposes not stated (see MEE 10 38, 39, 46, and the references in ARES 2, s.v.). Azu, dug up at Tell Ḥadīdi, 30 km due north of Emar (see Dornemann 1978, 1979, 1985, 1988), was a vassal kingdom of Ebla and later belonged to Alalah IV. Zalagatum also appears at Alalah IV as Zalaqia, and Zarbat at Alalah VII as Zar[b]at, a possession of the Kingdom of Yamḥad. Irkut and Ir(r)aku, which were probably two separate towns, appear in the Ebla texts in unmistakably domestic contexts.

314. Archi 1985b: 63; Part 1: 38–39.

315. Archi 1990a: 198.

316. In §8 of Enna-Dagan's *aide-mémoire* (see summary in my Part 1: 30), Birat and Ana of Ḥazuwan are mentioned as the farthest points of Mariote advance and Manê as the place where Iblul-II "received the tribute of Ebla"—either one tantamount to a victory.

317. See Part 1: 40–46.

318. See Part 1: 45–46.

As at Alalāḥ, excavations at Tuttul (Tell Biʿah) have revealed a large palace of the late third millennium, and, again as at Alalāḥ, its exact chronological place is controversial. The director of the excavations, E. Strommenger, repeatedly referred to this “Old Palace”³¹⁹ as Late Early Dynastic because it reminded her of Royal Palace G at Ebla in its general outlay (construction on two levels connected by a stairway) and its great use of wood as building material.³²⁰ But it should be noted that the two-level plan was in both cases dictated by the requirements of the terrain: both palaces were built on slopes. Concerning the use of wood, nowhere in his reports did Matthiae state that it was unusually high in Palace G. Wood was an indispensable element in the construction of ancient Syrian and Mesopotamian palaces. As noted by Mallowan about Naram-Sin’s palace at Tell Brak, wood served for its adornment, furnishing, and roofing³²¹—just as at Ebla.

The “Old Palace” was destroyed by fire.³²² No inscribed objects and apparently not much ceramic material have been found in its ruin. Strommenger mentioned only three items: (1) A vessel in the shape of a monkey, “comparable pieces to which are found in the ‘hypogeum’ of Tell Aḥmar.”³²³ That hypogeum belongs to Early Bronze IV,³²⁴ and it contains, among other things, the multiple-grooved rim bowls that are an innovation of the Mardīḥ IIB2 period and appear in sites downstream of Tell Aḥmar in levels assigned to the Ur III age.³²⁵ (2) “A beautifully painted vessel with a stand” comparable to one from Tell Rifʿat “of Early Bronze IV.”³²⁶ More precisely, the vessel came from the excavation of Area F of Tell Rifʿat, under the direction of M. V. Seton-Williams, in 1956, and belonged to the Upper Level of Early Bronze IV³²⁷—that is, EB IVB, corresponding to Mardīḥ IIB2. (3) The lower part of a *depa amphikypellon*,³²⁸ a vessel of Anatolian origin, the exemplars of which, found in

319. So called to distinguish it from the “New Palace” (*Junger Palast*) of the Middle Bronze Age, the reigns of Šamši-Adad I and Zimri-Lim.

320. Strommenger 1991: 8, 21, 28; 1993: 6, 20.

321. Mallowan 1947: 15. It is interesting that the dendrological analysis of the remains of wood in Naram-Sin’s palace at Tell Brak identified them as belonging to ash, elm, oak, plane, and poplar—that is, deciduous trees that grew in the vicinity and in the Ṭūr ʿAbdīn nearby—but not conifers, which were used for beams and columns. It seems to indicate that the palace, which served as Naram-Sin’s headquarters in northern Mesopotamia, was built before his foray to the Amanus with the stated purpose of cutting cedars (see n. 131 above), which is consistent with the probable sequence of his activities in the northwest. Matthiae (1975: 351) found similarities between Palace G, the palace of Naram-Sin at Tell Brak, and the palaces at Alalāḥ Levels X–XI and VII.

322. Strommenger 1991: 8, 19, 29.

323. Strommenger 1991: 22 and fig. 13.

324. Mazzoni 1985: 9; Bunnens 1989: 3–4.

325. Mazzoni 1985: 9.

326. Strommenger 1991: 23, 24 fig. 15; 25 quoting Matthies (et al.) 1981: fig. 208:18 (a printing error for fig. 205:18).

327. Seton-Williams 1961; 1967: 69–70, revised stratigraphic chart. Matthies (in Matthies et al. 1981: 327–48) gave a detailed study of the Early Bronze IV pottery from Tell Rifʿat (using the field notebook of the earlier excavations) and nearby mounds. A drawing of the vessel in question is given on p. 335, fig. 205, “Upper level of EB IV,” item 18. Its very close resemblance to the vessel from the Old Palace of Tell Biʿah is obvious.

328. Strommenger 1991: 25 and n. 7, fig. 16.

northern Syria, are considered to have been imports from Cilicia.³²⁹ This peculiar type of goblet is depicted among other Anatolian-style artifacts taken as booty and represented on a relief from the time of Naram-Sin.³³⁰ Another exemplar of the *de-pas* was found in a shaft grave at Selenkahiyeh dated to the Late Akkadian period, which is, for archaeologists, the stretch of time between the end of Naram-Sin's reign and the beginning of the Ur III Dynasty.³³¹ Strommenger also noted that "the exemplar from Amuq J is a particular variant [of the *de-pas*]."³³² All in all, the ceramic evidence suggests the Mardih IIB2/Amuq J period, and probably its second half, for the "Old Palace," corresponding to the Late Akkadian and Ur III periods and making its fiery end contemporary with the destruction of Ebla IIB2.³³³

Moreover, below the "Old Palace" of Tuttul its forerunner, the "Older Palace,"³³⁴ was discovered, surmounted by an intermediate layer with a ceramic inventory of the same kind.³³⁵ The "Older Palace" shows no traces of fire; it was simply abandoned with its pottery and other artifacts untouched. The ceramic ensembles are characterized by numerous globular vessels known as "Syrian bottles."³³⁶ These, according to the concordant datings of their finds at Anatolia, Syria, northern and southern Mesopotamia (in the latter as imports), are assigned to Early Dynastic III and to the Early Old Akkadian (Sargonic) period during which they went out of use. Since the "Old Palace" was erected on top of the "Older Palace" after a certain interval, it must have been significantly later, which I argued above based on other evidence. One may conclude from the sequence of the early palaces at Tuttul combined with the written information on Tuttul in the Ebla texts that the city was originally independent, with its own king, until it was annexed by Ebla in the process of building up its empire. However, it regained its independence during the decline of Eblean supremacy.

There is even an epigraphic confirmation of Tuttul's royal status (besides the mention of its ensi, *lā-ši-Li-im*, in two Ur III records).³³⁷ It is an inscribed bronze anchor ax, unfortunately not found in situ, but belonging to a private collection and said to have come from Syria.³³⁸ The inscription, in three lines, reads *Íl-e-Li-im / en /*

329. Lloyd 1956: 65, 93, 109–10; Ş. Schachner and A. Schachner 1995: 86, 89.

330. Mellink 1963: 107–12 and pl. 30.

331. Van Loon 1969: 276. Selenkahiyeh stands ca. 18 km north-northwest of Emar.

332. Strommenger 1991: 25 n. 7, with reference to R. Braidwood and L. Braidwood 1960: fig. 349; Mellaart 1982: 26.

333. As usual, the charred remains of wood in the "Old Palace" were subjected to radiocarbon analyses. The results were published by Görsdorf 1993. Repeated measurements of the same specimens yielded widely divergent datings. I shall quote J. Oates (1985: 144) on the use of this method at Tell Brak: "The radiocarbon problem is another matter, but the very considerable discrepancy between historical and radiocarbon dates at Brak, where the historical control is quite precise, must give rise to some unease still with regard to the real historical accuracy of radiocarbon even if calibrated."

334. Strommenger 1991: 30–31; 1994: 24–30.

335. Strommenger 1994: 14, 21.

336. Strommenger (1993: 29), described as "bauchige Flaschen mit Rundböden" ('bulgy bottles with round bottoms'); identified as "Syrian bottles" in Ş. Schachner and A. Schachner 1995, a detailed study of this type of pottery.

337. Owen 1992: texts 60:18, 70:18.

338. Published and discussed by Morrison (1984). Tubb (1982), in his survey of similar axes, called them "crescentic."

Tu-tu^{ki}-li. The script, according to the publisher, could be ascribed to any time from the Pre-Sargonic to the Late Akkadian periods but displays certain similarities to inscriptions on metal objects of the Late Akkadian period. The only exemplar of an anchor ax that can be dated relatively accurately comes from a burial site at Ur that has been ascribed to the Middle–Late Akkadian period. As noted by the publisher, the spelling of the king's name and the title *en* on our bronze anchor ax link the inscription to Ebla, but the spelling and the genitive case of the toponym follow the style of Sargon's and Naram-Sin's Akkadian texts: *Tu-tu-li^{ki}* (instead of *Du-du-lu^{ki}*, *Du-du-lum^{ki}*, *Du-du-la^{ki}* in the Ebla texts).³³⁹ Thus, one may say that the ax inscription combines Ebla tradition with the influence of imperial Akkad and should be dated, broadly, to the middle or latter part of Early Bronze IVB.

(5) *Mane*. The reason for including Mane among the newly independent states in the territory of the former Eblean Empire is the presence of the damaged toponym at the end of line 5' of Šu-Sin's list of his vassals (p. 89 above), which I tentatively completed *Ma-n[e^{ki}]*.³⁴⁰ Second, from what we learn about Mane from the Ebla texts, it was an important city, in a strategic location, with a large rural territory that included land estates of Tiša-Lim, queen of Emar³⁴¹ (which were designated *Má-ne^{ki} lú ĩ-mar^{ki}*);³⁴² of a brother of an Eblean dignitary;³⁴³ of the sons of another one, a judge;³⁴⁴ and settlements of transplanted inhabitants from the Eblean heartland referred to as *Má-ne^{ki} lú Ga-du-ru₁₂^{ki}* and *Má-ne^{ki} lú Ig-du-ra^{ki}*.³⁴⁵ Because of the divided property rights and jurisdictions, the city was sometimes mentioned in plural form, *Má-ne-Má-ne^{ki}*.³⁴⁶ It was also one of the three principal and widely honored shrines of the goddess Išhara.³⁴⁷ But for all that, Mane, like Tuttul, was directly dependent on Ebla, whose king controlled the ownership or tenure of its fields and received its imposts.³⁴⁸

It is historically significant that Mane (written *ne:má^{ki}*, as in a couple of Ebla texts) is mentioned in the only legal text in the tablet hoard from Tell Beydar, along

339. Also Ur III *Tu-tu-la^{ki}* (Drehem, see n. 337 above), and *Tu-tu-ul^{ki}* (Šu-Sin's historical inscription, see p. 89 above).

340. The toponym is always written *Má-ne^{ki}* in Ebla texts, but in the Ur III period one no longer distinguished *má* and *ma*; see, for example, *Má-ad-ga^{ki}* and *Ma-ad-ga^{ki}*. In Šu-Sin's inscription, only the first sign of the toponym in question is extant, and after it there is room for only two signs, of which the second one must have been the determinative *ki*, while the vestigial three heads of horizontal wedges of the broken line could have belonged to *ne*.

341. Part 1: 47–50. Mane appears also in a lengthy list of Tiša-Lim's possessions given to her by Irkab-Damu, king of Ebla, a tablet in a private collection, published by Dietrich 1993.

342. ARET 3 323:IV:9–10.

343. ARET 2 27 §5.

344. ARET 7 156:obv. IV:5–6, rev. V:13.

345. MEE 10 38:rev. IV:4–5 and ARET 7 121:obv. II:1–3 (there transliterated *Si-ne^{ki}* but corrected to *Má-ne^{ki}* in ARES 2 380), MEE 10:38:rev. IV:7–V:4, respectively. Both place-names may be variants of the same toponym.

346. ARES 2 380, quoting one published and two unpublished examples.

347. References in ARES 2 381, s.v. *Má-NE^{ki}* §IV ND.

348. TM.75.G.1451 (Archi 1981a: no. 2):obv. I:7–8, V:5–6; TM.75.G.1669 (Archi 1980: 11–14):obv. VI:4, rev. VIII:3. [*Má*]-*ne^{ki}* should probably be restored in ARET 3 111:VI, an inventory of fields. Mentions of land properties at Mane in unpublished tablets are listed in ARES 2 380 §VI C.

with its close neighbor, Ḥalabit (written *Ḥa-la-bi-um*^{ki}), as locations for the sale of grain, sheep, and slaves, evidently brought there from the Kingdom of Nagar.³⁴⁹

In Part 1: 37–38, I proposed locating Mane on the left bank of the Euphrates, at a certain distance upstream from the river's narrows, on the basis of the presence of *uru**Ma-ni-e* in the itinerary of Nabopolassar's march in 616, from Babylonia to the confluence of the Balīḥ with the Euphrates. The identity of *Má-ne*^{ki} with *uru**Ma-ni-e* is not to be doubted, but the premise that the stages of the final leg of the itinerary were counted from the northern end of the narrows was only a working hypothesis. It may be possible (even though not with complete certainty) to assign to Mane a specific and plausible location. Kohlmeyer's survey of a stretch of the Euphrates Valley detected only two supposedly Early Bronze sites on the left bank between the confluence of the Balīḥ and the basalt massif on both sides of the narrows. The one higher upstream, near the village of Faṭīsat *Di*'b, was a walled city with an extensive outer settlement.³⁵⁰ It should be identified not with Mane but with another Eblean city, also involved in the Eblean-Mariote war, Galalabiya.³⁵¹

However, Kohlmeyer's other site fits Mane quite well. This is Qabr Abū 'Atiq, west of the village of Ġazirat aš-Šaṭī', on a ridge overlooking the northern end of the Euphrates gorge.³⁵² It had been noted earlier by E. Sachau³⁵³ and G. Bell,³⁵⁴ and Kohlmeyer's description, so many years later, fully agrees with theirs.³⁵⁵ No soundings were made, but a hole dug by "robbers" on the western slope of the ruins revealed Late Uruk period ceramics,³⁵⁶ proof of very early occupation of the site. Bell was right in locating the medieval Arab city of Ḥānūqah and its Byzantine predeces-

349. *Subartu II*, text no. 35. *Ne:má*^{ki} appears in obv. V:2; *Ḥa-la-bi-um*^{ki} in obv. I:3, II:5, IV:3, and V:3. Their identities with Eblean cities have been recognized correctly by W. Sallaberger in his commentary on the text.

350. Kohlmeyer 1984: 110 and map, object no. 40.

351. See Part 1: 37 and n. 229. The distance from the village to Raqqa is 22 km in a straight line or ca. 24 km by road. This exactly equals the four *schoinoi* counted by Isidorus of Charax between Nicephorium (Raqqa) and "the riverside Galabatha, a deserted town" ("six *schoinoi*" in Part 1: 37 was a slip of the pen). One of the forms of the toponym in Ebla texts is *Ga-la-la-bi-tù*^{ki}, in which the reduplicated *-la-la-* may render /lla/, as is supposed for similar cases in Eblean writing.

352. Kohlmeyer 1984: 111–12 and map, object no. 45. The adjacent village appears on the map of *Raqqa* 1:200,000 as El Jezra.

353. See n. 157 above.

354. Bell 1910: 526–27; 1911: 68. The two passages largely overlap. In the latter, she says about the ruins: "They lie upon high rocky ground that drops steeply into an old bed of the Euphrates, from which the river has retreated into a new bed a few hundred yards away. The whole area is covered with stone and brick foundations, some of them built of great blocks of hewn basalt, and the site must represent a city of no small importance. Below it the river is forced into a narrow defile where it flows between steep hills."

355. Kohlmeyer (1984: 111–12) noted: "We are obviously dealing with a well-fortified large establishment on a high ridge over the riverine meadow. Remains of towers and of the city wall on its outer flank toward the valley and at least one gate to the north are well recognizable. . . . Its importance resulted from its situation directly at the beginning of the Euphrates narrows, from where they were easy to watch."

356. Kohlmeyer 1986: 54.

sor Annuka, not in the “confined valley below Zelebîyeh, but at Abu ‘Atîk, where the ruin field is much larger. It may be that there was a yet older settlement at Abu ‘Atîk, and that the stone foundations there belonged to the town of Annouca which stood at the head of the defile.”³⁵⁷

However, there is no certainty, despite the lack of a better candidate, that Qabr Abū ‘Atiq indeed corresponds to Mane. Kohlmeyer, in his very succinct report, cited no evidence to substantiate his designation of it as an Early Bronze site. Moreover, nine years later, the attribution was reconsidered and refuted in an article by three authors, one of whom was Kohlmeyer himself.³⁵⁸ But instead of clarifying the situation, the revision made it even more confused. Kohlmeyer was said to have assigned the stone structures visible on the surface to the Early Bronze Age (a claim that is missing in his published reports), while in point of fact the prevalence of Middle Assyrian ceramics, also on the surface, both in the citadel and in the lower town, points to a Middle Assyrian origin of the walls as well. “The settlement of Tell Qabar Abu al-‘Atiq must have acquired such a basic life position (*Lebensgrundlage*) only with the consolidation of the Middle Assyrian provincial system, presumably under Shalmaneser I.”³⁵⁹ What should one make of this declaration? The fact that the remains of walls stand on the surface pleads decisively against their attribution to either the Early Bronze or the Middle Assyrian period. From the descriptions, Qabr Abū ‘Atiq looks Byzantine–Early Islamic, and it was so perceived by Gertrude Bell, who was not only an indefatigable traveler and explorer but also an expert in Byzantine, Eastern Christian, and Islamic architecture. I do not know what were the criteria for identifying the surface sherds as Middle Assyrian, but the linkage of Qabr Abū ‘Atiq with political events is wrong. Neither under Shalmaneser I nor under Tukulti-Ninurta I did the Assyrian possessions on the lower Ḥabūr reach the Euphrates; Dūr-Katlimmu (Tell Šeyḥ Ḥamad), some 50 km north of the confluence of the two rivers, remained the southernmost Assyrian district capital in the area.

Under Tukulti-Ninurta I, however, the first of the two Middle Assyrian invasions of the Euphrates narrows and their neighborhood took place. After his reconquest of Babylonia, he sent an army up the Euphrates all the way to its Great Bend.³⁶⁰ He

357. Bell 1911: 68. The medieval Arabic data on Ḥānūqah were collected by Musil (1927: 185 n. 2). According to Procopius (*De aedif.* II:6:12), there was an old fortress, Annuka, the walls of which became dilapidated. Justinian restored them so thoroughly that the town of Annuka became second to none. The name of the place derived from its position: it comes from the general Semitic root ḤNQ ‘to strangle, to constrict, to compress’. Already Assurnasirpal II mentioned his passage through the *ḥinqi ša Puratti* (ARAB 1: §472; ARI 2: §579). Since the toponym begins with an etymological *ḥ*, why did Procopius not render it with Greek *ch*? The answer is that he followed the western Syriac pronunciation, in which the original *ḥ* and *ḥ* merged into *h*, which was regularly omitted in Greek transcriptions.

358. Einwag, Kohlmeyer, and Otto 1995: 103–4.

359. See n. 358.

360. This resulted in the Assyrian conquest of the Transeuphratean part of the Hittite Kingdom of Carchemish and in the start of a new Hittite-Assyrian war, as I reconstructed the events in Astour 1996. Since then, the publication of letter no. 2 from Dūr-Katlimmu (in Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996) presented us with a direct Assyrian report on this military operation.

boasted: “I brought under one command the lands Mari, Ḫana, Rapiqu, and the mountains of the Aḫlamû.”³⁶¹ The Aḫlamû were later known as Arameans, and their mountains, as well noted by Kupper, were no other than the Ġebel Bišri, a favorite abode of nomads.³⁶² Tukulti-Ninurta I’s army would have had to pass through the emplacement of Qabr Abū ‘Atiq. But, having been dispatched to seize land from the Hittites, it had no time to stop and build a great fortified city. Furthermore, if Tukulti-Ninurta really did succeed in subjugating these peoples, his domination only lasted until the departure of the Assyrian troops. Not only did the Ġebel Bišri (which the Assyrians could never pacify) immediately resume their independence but also the easily accessible lands of Mari and Ḫana.³⁶³

The second Assyrian foray into the area in question occurred under Tiglath-pileser I, the last great, but ultimately unsuccessful, military leader of the Middle Assyrian period.³⁶⁴ Its context was different: it was one of the king’s systematic attempts to stop or slow down the flood of Aramean intruders into north Mesopotamia. He pursued a band of Aḫlamû Arameans across the Euphrates, but he did not build a city there. On the contrary, he wrote, “I conquered six of their cities at the foot of Mount Bešri, burned, razed, destroyed them.”³⁶⁵ One of those “cities” could have been Mane. There is an indirect attestation to its existence under the same name as in the Ebla archives and the Chaldean Chronicle during the Middle Assyrian period. It is ^m*Ma-ʾ-na-ia*/*Ma-ʾ-na-iu-ú*, an ethnic term used as a personal name by Assyrians in the last regnal years of Shalmaneser I and the beginning years of Tukulti-Ninurta I.³⁶⁶ It belongs to a category that is well represented in Middle Assyrian anthroponymy but that is not necessarily derived from toponyms from Assyria itself.³⁶⁷

The Assyrian spelling, with the sign for a glottal stop, correctly renders Eblean *Má-ne*^{ki}, the first sign of which was used in the writing of Eblaic words for transcribing the West Semitic /maʿ/.³⁶⁸ The personal name could have been derived from the

361. Weidner 1959: text no. 16:69; trans. *ARAB* 1: §166; *ARI* 1: §775. The omission of the land of Suḫi (located between Rapiqu and Ḫana) is inexplicable.

362. Kupper 1957: 136–37. We have met this massif in the time of Šar-kali-šarri and of Gudea, when it was called “the mountain of Amurru,” in part (b) of this section.

363. Setting aside the pertinent testimonies from the twelfth century, I shall only mention here RS 34.142 tablet, published by Lackenbacher (1984). It was found at Ras Shamra in a mixed lot dating to the end of the thirteenth century and is roughly contemporaneous with the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. It is a letter from a subject to his lord, on whom he invokes the blessings of the great gods of the land of Mari and who should be identified as the king of that state. The sender mentions, among other things, that he had to flee from the enemy into the inner country and, when he returned, he found his house plundered. This is probably a reference to the passing of the Assyrian army, followed by a return to the status quo. How this tablet came to Ugarit remains a mystery.

364. On the shrunken extent of the territory under actual Assyrian control at the time of Tiglath-pileser I and the futility of his far-flung invasions, see Postgate 1985.

365. *ARAB* 1: §239; *ARI* 2: §34.

366. Weidner 1941: 116; Saporette 1970: 1.305–6, 2.176 (among “geographical names”); Deller and Saporette 1970: 286; *RGTC* 5:340 (as a name of geographical origin).

367. For example, ^m*Kaš-šu* ‘Kassite’, ^m*I-ma-ra-ie-e* ‘Emariote’, or derived from names of neighboring countries that were not yet conquered when the people being referred to by the term were born.

368. E.g., *iš-má* /*yišmaʿ*/, *má-bar-tù* /*maʿbartu*/.

name of the town itself or, conceivably, from its adoption by a nearby Aramean tribe as its appellation, a phenomenon that we met before in this section and will note again below.³⁶⁹ A tribe called *Arabes Manneôtai*, which lived in the “land of Manneus³⁷⁰ between the rivers”—in other words, in Mesopotamia—is attested in the Roman period.³⁷¹ In 127 B.C., it took over the city of Edessa and became known to classical writers as *Orrhoei* or *Orrhoênes* from one of the names of their capital.³⁷² The earlier ethnonym survived as a component of several place-names as well as a personal name borne by several kings and commoners of Osroene, *Mannos* in Greek, *Maʿnu* in local Old Syriac inscriptions.³⁷³

The site of Qabr Abū ʿAtiq merits being briefly explored by a team that includes a specialist in Byzantine and Islamic architecture and an archaeologist familiar with preclassical periods, which should draw a plan of the site, check the bricks for possible stamps, and make a deep sounding or two to ascertain its stratigraphy.

(6) *Yamatium*. One of the regions that repeatedly sent its envoys to Drehem was *Ià-a-ma-tu* or *Ià-ma-ti-um*^(ki). It was an Amorite tribal state whose envoys are designated *Mar-tu* (the name of the ruler has not been transmitted).³⁷⁴ Authors who dealt with it transliterated its name *Ià-a-ma-dù/Ià-a-ma-dì-um* for etymological reasons, following Buccellati’s derivation of it from the root *ḤMD*, Arabic *ḥamida* ‘to praise’.³⁷⁵ Semantically, this etymology is unassailable,³⁷⁶ but it is not supported by epigraphic evidence. In the synonym list *malku* = *šarru*, tablet I,³⁷⁷ entry 233 has *Ia-ma-tu-ú* = *Aḥ-la-mu-ú*. This is yet another example of the transformation of Amorite tribes into Aramean, but for the phonetics of the ethnonym in question it should be taken into account that the *malku* = *šarru* series was copied from tablets from the Kassite period, which in turn relied on Old Babylonian material.³⁷⁸ Furthermore, in both Old and Middle Babylonian writing, the voiced and unvoiced dentals were graphically distinguished. I therefore propose to derive the ethnonym from Arabic *ḥamata* ‘to be intensely hot’, the relevance of which will be shown shortly below.

369. On this subject and on the transformation of some nomad tribes from Amorite to Aramean and from Aramean to Arab, see n. 165 above.

370. *Manneôs chora*. In the edition (see next note), there is a comma between the two words, but it is certainly a mistake, for *Manneôs* is a genitive of **Manneus*, an eponym of the tribe in question.

371. Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (ed. Meineke 1849: 431), quoting Uranius, who, as we learn from other references to him by Stephanus, was the author of *Arabika*, a work of at least five books.

372. The Syriac name of Edessa, *ʿOrhai*, and Arabic *Rūhā* have no Semitic etymology; their most plausible derivation is from the second part of Greek *Kallirrhōē* ‘beautifully flowing’, an epithet for Edessa. *Osroëne* is a later form of the name of the region, based on a false etymology.

373. Maricq 1962: nos. 8 and 9; Drijvers 1972: nos. 1, 2, 21; Segal 1970: 23 n. 4.

374. On this tribe, see Buccellati 1966: 149, 242–43. Additional texts have been transliterated by Owen 1993 and the pertaining texts have been published, in transliteration, in Owen 1992 (see index, p. 172, s.v. *lú-ià-ma-dì-um*^(ki)).

375. Buccellati 1966: 149. He also mentioned an alternative etymology from *ʿMD* ‘to stand’, and cited *Ḥamad*, the modern Arabic name for the Syrian Desert.

376. Closer home, the root *ḤMD* appears in Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Aramaic with the meaning ‘to desire’, ‘to be pleasant’.

377. Critical edition by Kilmer 1963.

378. Kilmer 1963: 423 and n. 17, quoting the conclusion by Balkan 1954: 6–7.

As happened frequently with Amorite and Aramean tribes, one part of the Yaḥmatû separated itself from the rest and moved to the Transtigris, where it was noted as one of the Amorite (Mar-tu) tribes with whom Šu-Sin fought during his punitive expedition against Simanum and Ḥabura.³⁷⁹ However, the Yaḥmatû who sent envoys to Drehem lived in the west. As pointed out by the scholars dealing with them, these envoys were often listed side by side with envoys from Mari and Ebla.³⁸⁰ This in itself is not always sufficient proof of geographical proximity, but any doubts are removed by the statement in one of the texts that two envoys from Ebla and one each from Mari and Yaḥmatium, “going (back) to their cities, they went by boat.”³⁸¹ Mari, of course, stood on the Euphrates, but the city of Ebla was quite distant from it, which did not prevent Ebleans from sailing, aboard Mariote boats, all the way to Kiš in the period of the archives;³⁸² they probably reached the river at Emar. What was the location of the Yaḥmatû territory?

One area touching the Euphrates between Mari and Emar has attracted particular interest: the Ġebel Bišri range, which Gudea (and, later, the Lipšur litanies) called “the mountain of Amurru.” It was assumed to have been the principal, or even the original, habitation of the Amorites and was equated with KUR.MAR.TU ‘the country, or the highland, of the Amorites’, which figures in a number of Ur III texts either as a source of booty or as the destination for cattle sent by boat from Drehem to a chieftain called Naplanum the Amorite.³⁸³ The latter operation, it was said, could only be performed on the Euphrates, which again pointed to Ġebel Bišri. Since the Yaḥmatû were an Amorite tribe, they too can be assigned to the same area.³⁸⁴

However, this synthesis is misleading. Ġebel Bišri was not the only “mountain of Amurru”: the same Gudea, in the same passage of his Statue B inscription, mentioned Ti-da-núm ḤUR.SAG MAR.TU, from which he brought great blocks of nu₁₁-gal-stone (alabaster or marble).³⁸⁵ Without entering into the role of this early Amorite tribe (*Ditanu/Didanu* in cuneiform, *Dtn/Ddn* in Ugaritic) in West Semitic myths and genealogies, and keeping to the time frame of the present section, I would remind the reader that Šu-Sin fought the Tidnum (contracted form of *Tidanum*) and

379. Šu-Sin’s historical inscription, Civil 1967: 32, VI:18–20. Only two or three signs at the beginning of the lines have been preserved. Wilcke (1990) partially restored the lines (in his reckoning 36–40) Mar-tu 1[ú? xx]x / Ti-id-nu-[um (x) K]I/ Ja-a-m-d[i-um-d]a?.

380. Owen 1992: texts 4:8–19; 5:II:19–31; 25:III:1–16; 27:1–4; 47:9–11.

381. Owen 1992: text 4:8–19.

382. Part 1: 61–62.

383. For chronological reasons, the man was a different person from Naplanum, the first ruler of the Larsa Dynasty (Buccellati 1966: 357).

384. Assertions of this kind, or parts of them, were voiced by different scholars but most consistently by Buccellati 1966: 236–42. More recently, Gordon D. Young, in his commentary on the Ur III tablet known as Wabash 1, published by him apud Owen (1992: 176) and dealing with, first, another dispatch of some cattle by boat for Naplanum the Amorite to KUR.MAR.TU, and second, with habitual allotments of heads of small cattle to the envoys of Ebla, Uršu, and Mari, concluded that “the grouping of Naplanum and KUR.MAR.TU with the other Syrians clearly implies that the four transactions supervised by Lugal-inimgina had Syrian destinations. This being the case, Wabash 1 adds additional Ur III evidence for the location of KUR.MAR.TU in Syria.”

385. Statue B inscription VI:13–16.

(the eastern branch of) the Iaḥmatû in the Transtigris and that the principal and most-endangered sector of Šu-Sin's defensive wall, called *Muriq-Tidnim* 'Fender of Tidnum', ran from the middle Tigris to Zimudar on the Diyala.³⁸⁶ More specifically, one of the Ur III texts that mentions 'booty from the land of Amurru' (KUR.MAR.TU), published by S. Lieberman,³⁸⁷ has the distinction of mentioning that the booty in question was sent by Lu-Nanna, whom Lieberman identified with Lu-Nanna, general (šakkanā) or governor (ensī) of Zimudar, in Year 1 of Šu-Sin and Year 2 of Ibbi-Sin, also mentioned in the letter from Šarrum-bani to Šu-Sin and restored in a record of Year 48 of Šulgi.³⁸⁸ This points to the location of the land of Amurru to the north of Zimudar, while Gudea's Tidanum, the mountain of Amurru, should correspond to the Ḥamrīn range, or a part thereof.

Moreover, Naplanum is said to be from a place called BĀD^{ki} (BĀD^{ki}-ta);³⁸⁹ the same is said about two groups of Amorites at Drehem, one simply noted as such,³⁹⁰ the other consisting of twelve men listed by name.³⁹¹ BĀD, Akk. *dūru(m)* 'wall, fortress', is a frequent first element in composite place-names but is rare standing by itself as a place-name.³⁹² One such instance was believed to appear in an Ebla text as BĀD^{ki}, one of 18 cities;³⁹³ all of them except this one are attested in other Ebla records. A bronze goblet from the Sargonic period inscribed with the names of a priest of BĀD^{ki} and his daughter was excavated at Tell Munbāqa on the left bank of the Euphrates, about 26 km north of Emar.³⁹⁴ P. Steinkeller considered it possible that BĀD^{ki} was the ancient name of the site; however, because of the occurrence of the priest's name with its rare theophoric element in the Sargonic tablets from Tell Suleimeh in the Ḥamrīn area, he found it equally probable or more so that the goblet had been imported from the Ḥamrīn area, where BĀD^{ki} is mentioned several times in tablets.³⁹⁵

A year later, the Ebla text in question was published from the original tablet,³⁹⁶ and it turned out that the supposed BĀD^{ki} was actually *U₉-na-gū^{ki}* (the signs BĀD and *u₉* look rather similar in Eblean script).³⁹⁷ The Transtigridian BĀD^{ki} is mentioned

386. See Lieberman 1969: 60–62.

387. Lieberman 1969: 53, dated Year 48 of Šulgi.

388. This is discussed in detail by Lieberman 1969: 59–60.

389. Jones and Snyder 1961: no. 104:6–7 = Buccellati 1966: 74 (Amar-Sin Year 8).

390. Legrain 1947: no. 1136 (date broken).

391. Tablet Kerr 1, published and discussed by Owen 1995 (Amar-Sin Year 5).

392. It was an object of study by Michałowski 1977; Steinkeller 1984b: 83–84; and Owen 1995.

393. MEE 2 21 rev. II:13.

394. Wäfler 1980.

395. Steinkeller 1984b: 83–84. Tell Suleimeh is located southwest of Sa'diya, which is 125.5 km distant by road from Baghdad. This puts it on the right bank of the Diyala River and just north of the northern end of the gorge of the Diyala within the Ḥamrīn range. The tablets have been published by Rashid (1981), who identified the site with ancient Awal. He has normalized BĀD^{ki} as *Dūrum*.

396. As ARET 1 12. The toponym in question appears in §26.

397. All of the frequent occurrences of *bād*, *bād^{ki}*; *bād-bād^{ki}*, *bād^{ki}-bād^{ki}* in Ebla texts are common nouns. In the royal ritual ARET 11 1 §§5, 6; 2 §§7, 8 *bād* is 'wall' (around a building); elsewhere it is the designation of towns and villages subordinated to capitals of kingdoms or districts; see their list in *RGTC* 12/1:68–69 (included though not recognized as geographical names). The term is usually

in five Ḥamrīn texts,³⁹⁸ in contexts that show that it was located not far from Awal (Tell Suleimeh). As stated by Owen, “thus a location in the Hamrin region also cannot be excluded and may, in fact, be more attractive since the Mardu are well known in that area.”³⁹⁹ We are, indeed, observing an early example of a pattern that was to repeat itself many times in Mesopotamia and Syria: an Amorite tribe takes hold of an old city, without destroying it, and establishes a combined urban-tribal entity.

But, one may ask, how in this case were heads of cattle shipped to Naplanum by water? The Euphrates was not the only available waterway; the delivery could be made by means of the Diyala. The Ur III text Tell Asmar 1930 T 396 (Year 8 of Šu-Sin) presented by R. M. Whiting⁴⁰⁰ deals with the journey of 22 women from Ešnunna, via Upi, to Nippur and back—the outbound leg by land up to Upi (classical Opis on the Tigris) and from Upi to Nippur by boat; the inbound leg entirely by boat. Drehem stood on the same branch of the Euphrates as Nippur, 5 km downstream of it. Whiting also quoted a Sargonic date formula about digging a canal from Akšak (on the Tigris opposite Upi) to Nippur.⁴⁰¹

But what about Ġebel Bišri, the Amorite mountain? It is conspicuous by its complete absence from Ur III records as a geographical or political entity.⁴⁰² One may assume that it remained what it was at the time of Šar-kali-šarri and continued to be at the time of Tiglath-pileser I and Assurnasirpal II—a rugged, hardly accessible, practically unconquerable country, with regard to which the kings of the Ur III dynasty wisely abstained from military actions. The Euphrates narrows, however, remained under imperial control (probably exercised by the client state, Mari), which allowed for the passage of boats between lower Mesopotamia and Syria, just as later

translated ‘fortress’, which is correct for Akkadian lexicology but hardly consistent with real conditions (could, e.g., all 52 settlements of the district of Lu’atum be fortified cities?). I suspect that the ideogram rendered not the Akkadian but the West Semitic *dūru*: Heb. *dōr*, Isa 38:12, ‘habitation’ (not necessarily only ‘tent camp’); Aram. *dūrā* ‘settlement, village’; cf. Arab. *dār*- ‘habitation’, and even Akk. *da-a-rum* = [mu]-ša-bu ‘settlement’.

398. Rashid 1981: nos. 7:IV:7; 9:29; 15:13; 35:II:7, IV:14.

399. Owen 1995: 219, though he had not excluded a Syrian location.

400. Whiting distributed handouts of the copy and transliteration of the text at the 25th R.A.I., Philadelphia, July 14, 1988. Cited here with his permission.

401. Mu dīd-Aksak (UD.ÙḪ)^{ki} Nibru^{ki} ì-dar-a, Pohl 1935: no. 138:17. Gragg (1973: 71) suggested that “if an Akšak-Nippur canal should be hydrologically improbable, perhaps the first place name should be read GiŠ'.ÙḪ^{ki}, i.e., um ma(!)^{ki}.” But the record from Tell Asmar (Ešnunna) presented by Whiting proves that the canal was quite real and navigable in both directions. It did not have to run all the way to Nippur; a short spur was sufficient to link up the Tigris with the Nippur branch of the Euphrates.

402. The only hint in the Ur III records is the mention of a lamb offered to ħur-sag-Ba-ša-ar along with another lamb for the god Amurru by a certain *Ši-im-ti-ib'-ha-se-er* in a Drehem tablet published by Dhorme (1912: pl. 1, text 3:3; noted in *RGTC* 2:26; Kupper 1957: 150 n. 1; Buccellati 1966: 236). Here we are dealing with a deified mountain, and it must be remembered that worship of such mountains and the inclusion of their names in anthroponyms as theophoric elements is attested in areas quite remote from the mountains in question; see, for example, the section on oronyms in Durand (1991: 84–89). On the god Amurru’s nonappearance in Amorite onomastics, see Kupper (1957: 245–47). On the client kingdom Martu(m) within the Ebla Empire, which was declared Amorite and located in the Ġebel Bišri but was neither, see Part 1: 54–56.

in the Mari age. For the Yaḥmatû, who recognized the sovereignty of Ur and duly sent their envoys to Drehem, we must look for a different location, farther northwest, and this brings us to the confines of the old Ebla Empire, after a detour that was needed for the purpose of elimination.

Pliny the Elder, in his comprehensive though unsystematic list of Arab peoples, tribes, and cities in Arabia and outside of it, mentions *Amaitaei oppidis Messa et Chenneseri*.⁴⁰³ The ending *-aei* (rather than *-itae*) shows that the gentilic was formed from the base *Amaita*. *Messa* is otherwise unknown, but *Chenneseri* is beyond doubt identical with the city called al-Ḥunāširah in medieval Arabic, now al-Ḥanāšir, Syriac Ḥanašartā, Byzantine Greek Anasartha, Onasartha, and Anazartha.⁴⁰⁴ The city dominated the 10-km-wide plain between the basaltic plateaus of Ġebel Ḥaṣṣ and Ġebel Šbeyt and controlled the road from Epiphania (Ḥama) and Apamea to Barbalissus (the city built, after a long interruption, on the site of Emar), which bypassed Ġebel Šbeyt from the north.⁴⁰⁵ Ḥanāšir stands only 4 km northwest of Tell Munbataḥ, the fortified city erected in the Mardīḥ IIB2 period for the same purpose: to protect the road from Ebla to Emar.⁴⁰⁶ It is clear that the vital highway that connected Ebla with its loyal client kingdom, Emar, and the Euphrates road to Mari and southern Mesopotamia must have been under Eblean control already in the Mardīḥ IIB1 period, before the foundation of Tell Munbataḥ and the other large fortified city on that road, Tell Šabḥa; perhaps their creation was due to the highway's becoming less safe.

Turning now to the Amitaei, we notice that a cognate toponym existed in the Roman-Byzantine period in the same general area. Stephanus Byzantius cites it as "Amatha, a place in Arabia,"⁴⁰⁷ and in the *Notitia dignitatum, Oriens* (chap. 33, "Dux

403. Pliny *hist. nat.* 6.32 §158.

404. Once again we see that the Arabic pronunciation has retained the original *ḥ* attested by Pliny, while in western Syriac it shifted to a weak *h* that was omitted in Greek transcriptions. The identification of Pliny's *Chenneseri* with Ḥanāšir was made by Sachau in 1882, as stated by Honigmann 1923: 30 (the quotation there from Pliny is incorrect). The toponym is very peculiar, not found elsewhere except as *Ḥirbat Hunayšir*, in the same area, at the northern foot of Ġebel Šbeyt, which is an Arabic diminutive of Ḥanāšir and points to its foundation as an outpost of the latter city. It has no etymology in Aramaic and Syriac and an implausible one in Arabic (*ḥinšir/ḥinšar* 'the little finger'). The only analogy is with Akkadian *ḥunširu*, one of the variants of *ḥumširu* 'mouse' or 'rat', of which **ḥunašširu* may have been an epenthetic form (cf. *ḥumširu* and *ḥumašširu*). Aramaic and Arabic toponyms of the same semantics are attested in Syria. If the Akkadian etymology is accepted, the toponym must have been older than the first millennium. Ḥanāšir and its neighborhood are described by Sachau 1983: 116–22; Poidebard 1939; Mouterde and Poidebard 1945: 67–68, 167, 197–201; briefly by Boulanger 1966: 417; *B.R.513: Syria* 26–27 (this description has been mistakenly copied, perhaps by a student assistant, to illustrate the reference to Ġebel Bišri in Buccellati [1966: 239–40], which is located ca. 200 km east of the described area).

405. See Mouterde and Poidebard 1945, folding map of the Roman road network in Syria; chart 1; and p. 64, fig. 4 (detailed map of the Ġebel Ḥaṣṣ and Ġebel Šbeyt area).

406. See p. 78 above.

407. The entry continues, "which is now known as Akmatha, so called for the sand (Greek *amos*)"; this fancy etymology proves that *Akmatha* is a miswriting of **Ammatha* (thus, tentatively, Honigmann 1923: 9 no. 31).

Syriae”)⁴⁰⁸ it appears among the Roman fortified posts in the northwestern part of the Syrian steppe, with its name written *Ammattha*, *Ammaitha*, *Amattha*, and *Am-matha*.⁴⁰⁹ R. Dussaud considered it a Syriac formation comparable to Ḥamata (more precisely Ḥammātā) near Tiberias, a place with hot springs (whence its name) called Ammathus in Greek that which became Ḥammām (‘hot bath’) in Arabic. He therefore found it possible to identify Ammattha with Ḥammām (Bīr Ḥammām on the maps, near the southern point of Ġebel Šbeyṭ, 18 km southeast of Ḥanāšīr), a hot mineral spring.⁴¹⁰ It is nowadays a stop on the road from Aleppo to Isriyeh (Roman Seriane) and from there to Tudmur (Tadmor/Palmyra). But the road was used much earlier than the Roman period: it was by this route that Palmyrenes must have traveled to Kaniš, where they are attested on seals and Old Assyrian tablets.⁴¹¹ At Ammattha, another Roman road crossed the road toward Palmyra; it ran east-southeastward to Androna (now the ruined city of Anderīn) and north-northeastward along the eastern scarp of Ġebel Šbeyṭ until it joined the highway via Anasarthā (Ḥanašīr) to the Euphrates bend. The latter segment was convenient for travelers from the south, and one may suppose that this shortcut was used by the Palmyrenes who were present at Emar in the thirteenth century.⁴¹² The Roman fortress, with masonry dating to the second/third century A.D., included a strong wall around its well with a plentiful supply of fresh water, a wider walled area with barracks for the garrison, and an outer village. Its hot mineral spring was quite a landmark; its curative properties were praised in a local Greek inscription,⁴¹³ and it was reported by early European travelers.⁴¹⁴

By combining all of these data, one may arrive at the following hypothesis. Sometime before the Ur III period, a group of Amorite nomads fixed itself around the site of Bīr Ḥammām with its abundant fresh water for their flocks and the hot mineral spring that gave its name (*Ḥamata or *Aḥmata) to the locality and was taken over by the tribe (as it frequently happened) as its self-denomination. Soon

408. *Notitia dignitatum* (edited by Seeck 1876) is a Roman, Latin-written official list of fortresses and forts, with the military units serving as their garrisons, in the early part of the fifth century. A copy of the lost original, made between the ninth and the eleventh centuries (codex Spirensis), was itself lost in the middle of the sixteenth century but not before five secondary codices had been copied from it, with frequent mistakes in rendering the early script.

409. It should not be equated with Amat/Amatu/Amatum of the Ebla texts, which, according to Eblean and Mariote data, was located on the Euphrates, downstream from Emar (cf. Astour 1988: 141 n. 23; Part 1: 46 and n. 281; 47 n. 282).

410. Dussaud 1927: 276. I have somewhat expanded Dussaud’s extremely terse exposition to make it easier to understand. In the cited passage he omitted the important detail about the hot spring and mentioned it only in passing and in a different context (1927: 261 n. 2), as “El-Hemmam (the bath),” and did not note the presence of a ruined Roman fort and settlement there. Mouterde and Poidebard, who followed Dussaud’s identifications, explored the site and provided several important data on it and its role as an ancient road junction (1945: n. 404; pp. 85–86, pls. 54–55).

411. *RGTC* 4:111, s.v. *Tadmur*.

412. Arnaud 1986: text 21:16, 18; cf. Arnaud 1980: “Emar never ceased to maintain a contact with Palmyra, a rival city, already powerful in the Bronze Age.”

413. Published by Mouterde and Poidebard 1945: 207–8.

414. Pietro Della Valle (1564), quoted by Mouterde and Poidebard 1945: 190 n. 2; Joseph Rousseau (1807), quoted by Dussaud 1927: 261 n. 2.

they established a typically Amorite urban-tribal state around the fortified city of Tell Munbaṭaḥ, maintained friendly relations with Ebla, and recognized the sovereignty of Ur along with it. One may surmise that the envoys of Yaḥmatû and Ebla, who went up the Euphrates on the same boat, also disembarked together at Emar and took the same road by land—the former up to Tell Munbaṭaḥ, the latter all the way to Ebla. In time, the Yaḥmatû underwent the same evolution as many other Amorite tribes: they first became Aramean (there is no mention of them at that stage) and then Arab, still keeping their ethnic name at least up to the first century A.D.⁴¹⁵

There still remain some questions: (a) Could it be that the incomplete name, of uncertain reading, of a Syrian client state of Ur III⁴¹⁶ belonged to the capital of the Yaḥmatû state? (b) What was the relationship of the Yaḥmatû state to the geographical entity of Nuḥašše, which is first attested in a contemporaneous record during the Alalaḥ VII period and in a literary work (to be examined in the next chapter, as existing at an earlier time)?

(7) *Qaṭanu*. This city, Qaṭanum of the Middle Bronze Age and Qaṭna of the Late Bronze Age, does not appear among the states that the Ur III government claimed as its vassals. It is, however, mentioned at Ebla (*Ga-da-nu*^{ki}) in a list of towns given to Irti, a son of the vizier Ibrium.⁴¹⁷ I do not see why this status “does not favor the identification with Qatanum, now Mišrife, proposed by Astour [1988b], p. 145.”⁴¹⁸ Not all royal cities started out as such; Barga, Tunanaba, and Ugulzat, which were kingdoms in the Amarna Age, had been direct possessions of Ebla in the age of its archives and, besides other mentions, each of them was assigned to a son of the same vizier, Ibrium.⁴¹⁹ In the case of Qaṭanum, its separation from Ebla and its ties to Ur III will be deduced from archaeological and religious data.⁴²⁰

The first settlement at Mišrifeh was dated by the excavator, broadly, to the third millennium.⁴²¹ S. Mazzoni, half a century later, in the light of new archaeological achievements, defined the sherds from the earliest two levels as related to the caliciform ceramic culture of Early Bronze IV A–B.⁴²² The original settlement occupied a rocky outcrop known as “Butte de l’Église” in the northwestern part of the area inside the huge earth rampart of the early Middle Bronze. It was a small fortification around a primitive shrine, small enough to represent one of the scattered estates of

415. As did the Rabbû of the Mari records, who reemerged in the same area as Rhambaioi in the first century B.C. (Astour 1978a); and the Ma’nayû of the Middle Assyrian period, at the same time, as Manneotal/Ma’nu (p. 114 above).

416. Šu-Sin’s historical inscription, list of dependencies, last entry in line 6’ (p. 89; cf. p. 93 and n. 215).

417. TM.75.G.1625 (Archi 1981a: 10, text 5); obv. I:x–2.

418. ARES 2 226, s.v.

419. That is, Barga (Barga’u) to Ir-Damu, TM.75.G.1444 (Edzard 1981a) VIII:12; Tunanaba (here spelled *Du-na-na-an*^{ki} but elsewhere in Ebla texts *Du-na-na-ab*^{ki}, *Du-na-nab*^{ki}, and *Du-na-na-bù*^{ki}) to Ingar, ARET 7 153:rev. II:5; Ugulzat to Gir-Damu, TM.75.G.1444:VI:9.

420. The following brief summary is primarily based on du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a, the comprehensive report of his excavations at Mišrifeh-Qaṭna.

421. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a: 13.

422. Mazzoni 1982: 198; 1985: 1, 13–15.

the son of an Eblean high dignitary. The Butte de l'Église remained the site of the subsequent principal temple and palace. These edifices were attributed by du Mesnil du Buisson to the Ur III period for two reasons. First, the temple was dedicated to the goddess Nin-egal, one of the principal deities of the Ur pantheon. True, this was only learned from the fifteenth century inventories of her Qatna temple⁴²³ (no earlier tablets have been uncovered) but, taking into account the usual cultic conservatism and the circumstance that nowhere else was Nin-egal worshiped as the city's patron deity, the attribution of her introduction into Qatna to the Ur III period is reasonable.⁴²⁴ Second, the edifices on the Butte d'Église were built on Sumerian plans, of unbaked bricks, though stone was plentiful on the spot. Furthermore, the few discovered cylinder seals and fragments of statues are of Sumerian style, one of them resembling the Gudea statues, and so is the relief of ibexes in the palace courtyard.⁴²⁵ It is worth mentioning that, besides the temple, there was a true West Semitic open-air sanctuary ("high place," as it is called in English translations of the Bible), which du Mesnil du Buisson considered the place of cult of the king's ancestral gods.⁴²⁶

The erection of the palace signified the transformation of the modest settlement into a growing city that soon after, in the Middle Bronze Age, occupied a fortified area of one square km and became the capital of a major power. One may suppose that this development was triggered by its location at the juncture of the Ur III empire's international connections. We know that Gubla (Byblos) was counted as a client state by the Ur III kings and that its envoy came to Drehem in Year 4 of Amar-Sin.⁴²⁷ This was probably not the only visit. How did the envoy(s) of Gubla travel? The route from Phoenicia to inner Syria led at all times through the Eleutherus River (Nahr el-Kebir) valley. Now it meets the north-south artery at Homs, and it is here that the cross-desert road via Palmyra to Deir ez-Zōr on the Euphrates begins. But at the time of the Mari archives, under Šamši-Adad I as well as Zimri-Lim, the road started at Qaṭanum, 18 km northeast of Homs, and reached the Euphrates, by bifurcation, at Dūr-Yasmaḥ-Addu (which J.-M. Durand identified with Deir ez-Zōr) or at Terqa, farther down-

423. First published by Virolleaud 1930; new edition by Bottéro 1945–50.

424. In the Ebla texts at least ten Sumero-Akkadian deities are mentioned, but Nin-egal is not one of them. At Mari, the earliest reference to her is in the offerings list, the so-called "Ur Pantheon," from the period of the šakkanakkus, when Mari was closely connected with the Ur III dynasty as long as it lasted (published by Dossin 1967 and, with improvements due to collations by J.-M. Durand, by W. Lambert 1985: 529–30). It seems that the worship of Nin-egal was introduced to Mari at that time and from there infiltrated to Emar.

425. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a: 15–16. About the same time, Virolleaud (1936: 10) could speak about Qatna as "a real Sumero-Akkadian colony." At any rate, the finds attest to a significant exchange of goods and ideas between the heartland of the Ur III empire and the remote Qatna, and it is possible that persons of Sumerian origin actually settled in Qatna and supervised the construction of the temple and palace. Schaeffer (1948: 118) attributed the level of the Nin-egal temple to the same period as Ras Shamra II-2, that is, 1900–1750; but he thought so because of the presence of a broken sphinx in the temple, with the name of Princess Ita, daughter of Amenemhet II (1929–1895). But the end of the Ur III dynasty, according to low chronology, was 1940, and the votive sphinx may have been brought to the temple some decades after its foundation.

426. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a: 97–110.

427. Owen 1992: 122; texts 60:19, 70:19.

stream.⁴²⁸ The road was passable not only by merchant caravans or messengers but even by an entire army, such as the one sent by Šamši-Adad I to aid Qaṭanum.⁴²⁹ The journey required guides familiar with water springs and landmarks; Benjaminites from the Ubrabû tribe were regarded as highly competent in this service. The road obviously did not originate at the time of Šamši-Adad. As harsh as the road might have been, it represented a very big savings of time for people traveling between Phoenicia and Sumer. We may thus see Qaṭanum in its fertile plain as the last station on cultivated soil where one had to hire fresh donkeys with their drivers and buy food, water bags, and other necessary items before plunging into the desert. This role brought prosperity to Qaṭanum and stimulated its growth.

(8) *Akakališ*. The separation from Ebla of this and the next region in this section may be deduced from the Hurro-Hittite bilingual “Song of Manumission.” As will be substantiated in §9 below, the Hurrian original of this literary work deals with the destruction of Ebla of the Mardih IIB2 period, was composed soon after the event, and, despite its heavy mythologizing and moralizing character, has preserved some authentic features of it. A crucial role is played by a city called Ikinkal (et var.) and its citizens enslaved by Ebla. As seen by H. Otten immediately after the discovery of the tablets with the bilingual, Ikinkal is identical with *Akakališ* in the *Res Gestae* of Ḫattušiliš I and *Akakališ* in the business tablets of Ebla.⁴³⁰ *Akakališ*, on the northern frontier of the Ebla Empire,⁴³¹ certainly belonged to it. One record⁴³² registers *ì-gi š uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki} nídba* ‘oil from the towns of *Akakališ*, offering’. The so-called “oil offering,” which actually consisted of gold, silver, cloths, and other artifacts, had to be delivered to Ebla by client kings, district governors, and cities.⁴³³ *Akakališ* also appears in a list of tributaries, payers of *mu-túm*.⁴³⁴ The reference to its “towns” shows that *Akakališ* was the administrative center of a district, but its political status is not clear. No *en* (‘king’) and *abba* (‘elders’) are attested there and no *lugal* (‘governor’) either; the highest office recorded is *ugula* (‘overseer’). Thus, it seems that, despite its remote location in relation to Ebla, *Akakališ* was not a client kingdom but a district directly controlled by Ebla.

428. See the study of this and other cross-desert roads (which passed to the north of this one) by Durand 1987a.

429. The Mariote documents relating to that campaign, of potentially great importance for the history and geography of central Syria, have been referred to at different occasions in the last ten years but their publication has been delayed.

430. Otten 1988, read at the Ebla colloquium at Heidelberg on November 4, 1986. The location of the city has been expounded in detail in Astour (1997b: 5–7) and will not be repeated in this study.

431. For its occurrences in Ebla texts, see ARES 2/100, *A-ga-ga-li-iš^{ki}* and *A-ga-ga-li₆-iš^{ki}*; ARES 2 227, *Ga-ga-NE-iš^{ki}* (i.e., *Ga-ga-li₆-iš^{ki}*); compare with *Ga-ga-lí-šum^{ki}* in a date formula of Naram-Sin, *RGTC* 1:53, 153.

432. ARES 3 430:II.

433. For the sake of brevity, see Astour 1988: 149 and n. 69, with references to publications on this subject.

434. TM.75.G.2462:obv. XVII:9, one of the “great annual accounts” of imposts, unpublished but having their toponyms excerpted for ARES 2 (see there, p. 15).

But the situation as presented in the bilingual is very different. Ikinkal is described as a “throne city” on a par with Ebla and is antagonistic to it; in fact, it seems to be the leader of a coalition that actually destroyed it at the time of its King Mekum who, as will be seen below, is attested at Drehem in Year 7 of Amar-Sin. We may conclude that by the latter part of the Ur III dynasty Ikinkal/Akakališ had freed itself from Ebla’s rule, raised itself to a royal city, and pursued an independent policy.

(9) *Nuḥašše*. The other new political formation mentioned in the bilingual is Nuḥašše, but unlike Ikinkal it is a close ally of Ebla. Before the discovery of the bilingual, the earliest reference to Nuḥašše came in an Alalah VII tablet (latter part of the Middle Bronze), but there is no reason to presume that it did not exist in Early Bronze IVB (compare the case of Mukiš which, after its attestations at Ur III, emerges again only in Late Bronze).⁴³⁵ *Nuḥašše* is not, as sometimes claimed, a Hurrian name⁴³⁶ but has a perfect Semitic etymology: Akkadian *nuḥāšu* ‘rich, prosperous’ (compare *nuḥšu* ‘abundance, plenty, prosperity’, used from Old Akkadian on);⁴³⁷ its presence in the bilingual does not therefore point to a post-Ur III origin of the name. It had long been assumed that the land of Nuḥašše consisted of a broad zone between the latitudes of Aleppo and Ḥamā from north to south and between the middle Orontes and perhaps the Euphrates bend from west to east.⁴³⁸ These parameters must be somewhat reduced, especially on the north side: in the bilingual, the apposition ^{uru}*Nu-u-ḥa-aš-še-ni* ^{uru}*E-eb-la-am* shows that Ebla was not considered part of Nuḥašše at the time when the action in the bilingual was supposed to have taken place. The assumption that Nuḥašše reached the Orontes depends on whether the land of Niʿi/Niya over the now-drained marsh of el-Ġāb could at times be subsumed under the category of “the lands of Nuḥašše.” There are only two hints, and both are ambiguous.⁴³⁹ In the east, Nuḥašše was separated from the Euphrates bend by Emar and the land of Aš-

435. I have briefly touched the question of the early references to Nuḥašše in Astour 1989a: 43–44, §28.

436. “The name itself is Hurrian,” asserted Klengel (1969: 20, with n. 13): “For the Hurrian place names in -šše see [Goetze 1959].” It is dangerous to classify proper names by their suffixes (real or presumed) rather than by their essential elements. Even if there were a Hurrian suffix in the toponym in question, one should take into account the fact that such suffixes were frequently added to non-Hurrian Syrian toponyms (Astour 1977a: 129). But in this case, even that is excluded. In the Hurrian text of the bilingual (Neu 1996b: 30, obv. I:9), the name is written ^{uru}*Nu-u-ḥa-aš-še-ni*, where *-ni* is the definite article. But in Hurrian personal and geographical names the suffix *-ni* is never placed after the suffix -š(š)e; thus, *-aš-še* is part of the stem.

437. This etymology, insofar as I know, has not been proposed before. *Nuḥāšu*, to be sure, appears only as a personal name in the Neo-Babylonian period, but the pattern *purās* (“substantivized true adjective,” GAG §55:k) was used in all periods; the reduplication of š (not in all occurrences) may reflect the pattern *purass* (GAG §55:q) which may, in certain cases, indicate enhancement. The Egyptian spelling, *Nu-ga-ša*, and the Ugaritic ethnic *Nḡty* render the Late Bronze Hurrian pronunciation of the voiceless /h/ as the voiced /ḡ/ in intervocalic position. The hapax *nḡt* (UT §19.1672), which seems to indicate status or position, remains unexplained.

438. To the references on this subject in Astour 1969: 386 n. 1 should be added: Nougayrol in PRU 4 255, s.v.; Klengel 1969: 18–20; del Monte in RGTC 6:292, s.v.; Liverani 1962, map pl. 2.

439. (a) In two letters or edicts by Šuppiluliumaš I to Niqmadu of Ugarit (PRU 4 1 and 2), the enemies of the Hittite king are Nuḥašše and Mukiš, but in a third (PRU 4 5), they are Mukiš, Nuḥašše, and

tata which, at the time of Ḫattušiliš I's invasion of northern Syria, he awarded with certain towns from the lands of Ḫalab and Nuḫašše.⁴⁴⁰ But even in these somewhat narrower limits Nuḫašše occupied a large territory and was ruled by several (we do not know how many) kings, one of whom, with his capital at Ugulzat, was the senior and could carry the title of the king of Nuḫašše.

We have seen, at the beginning of item 7 in this section, that Ugulzat, along with Barga and Tunanaba (which can also be assigned to Nuḫašše of the Amarna period),⁴⁴¹ belonged directly to Ebla and were conferred on sons of the vizier Ibrium. Some of the towns under the jurisdiction of Ebla that can be assigned to this area include Ḫasasar, Siḫanu, and Murigu;⁴⁴² there were no client kingdoms in the southern part of the Ebla dominion. But according to the bilingual, this area now formed an entity already called Nuḫašše, though perhaps covering only the western part of the second-millennium region by that name, while its eastern part constituted, if I am not mistaken, the state of Yaḫmatium. This concludes the survey of the extant pieces of evidence on the breakup of the Eblean kingdom and Empire. We do not know how much land remained part of Ebla toward the end of the Ur III period.

(e) Ebla in the System of the Ur III Empire

What did it mean, in practice, for Ebla to be a client state of Ur III? And, in the first place, was it one? P. Steinkeller did not think so. In his study cited above⁴⁴³ he limited the “vassal states of Ur” to “such as Anšan, Nineveh, Pašime, Šīmanum, and Šīmaški,” all of them in the Transtigris and Elam. He relied on the payment or non-payment of the gún mada tax as

Ni'i. Was Ni'i considered part of Nuḫašše? Not necessarily, because the former two documents were written in the early part of the war, before Ni'i joined the anti-Hittite coalition, while the third one was written after the end of the so-called First Syrian War. (b) Ḫattušiliš III gave to the deposed king Urḫi-Tešub some unnamed fortified towns in Nuḫašše (Autobiography IV:32–33), and in a later document (KUB 16 32 II:27–30, see Archi 1971: 211–12) it is said that a town in Niya (*I-NA* ^{um}*Ni-i-ia* 1 URU^L[^{UM} (. . .)]) has been assigned to [the sons] of Urḫi-Tešub. But the towns in Nuḫašše were no doubt forfeited when Urḫi-Tešub fled to Egypt, and the town in Niya was bestowed upon Urḫi-Tešub's sons by Tudḫaliyaš IV as one of his measures to right the wrongs inflicted on several Hittite persons by Ḫattušiliš III after his overthrow of Urḫi-Tešub.

440. Historical preamble to the treaty of Muṣiliš II with Talmi-Šarruma, king of the appanage kingdom of Ḫalab (KBo 1 6 = Weidner 1923: no. 7). For the Ḫattušiliš mentioned in the preamble being always Ḫattušiliš I and not an imaginary Ḫattušiliš II, see Otten 1968: 110–11 and Astour 1989a: §§25–29a.

441. For the identification of Ugulzat (Ukulzat) with the huge Tell Ḫalāwa, 52 km northeast of Hama, see Astour 1977b: 57 and n. 56. Barga, if not actually part of Nuḫašše, bordered on its state centered on Ugulzat (KBo 3 3; see Klengel 1963); its position, on Neo-Assyrian evidence, is limited to a group of mounds on the southwestern shore of the Maṭṭ lagoon (Astour 1969: 413); of them, for reasons of stratigraphy, the likeliest site is the twin mound Tell Sulṭān-Tell Rās el-ʿAin. The site of Tunanaba is so far unknown, but from its participation in an anti-Hittite coalition along with Qaṭna, Nuḫašše (i.e., Ugulzat), Ni'i, and Zinzar (EA 53:40–44), joined by Barga (EA 57:3) and probably Tunip, it should correspond to one of the more significant mounds between Barga and Qaṭna.

442. See the map in Astour 1988: 154.

443. Steinkeller 1987b: see nn. 179–81 above.

a useful criterion for determining a given locality's political status. The example of such places as Anšan, Huhhuri, Šimaški, and Zabšali in the east, Nineveh and Simanum in the north, and Abarnium, Ebla, Madaman,⁴⁴⁴ Mari, Mukiš, Tutul, and Urkiš in the west, which both did not pay the *gún mada* and are positively known to have never become part of the Ur III state, confirm the validity of this observation.⁴⁴⁵

There is a contradiction between counting Anšan, Nineveh, Šimanum, and Šimaški "vassal states of Ur" and showing them (and also Huhhuri and Pašime) in the zone of "vassal states" on a map explicitly entitled "Territorial extent of the Ur III state,"⁴⁴⁶ on the one hand and then including them in a list of places that "have never become part of the Ur III state" on the other hand. But what especially interests us here is the fact that, on the same map, the Middle Euphrates Valley, including Mari, the entire Ḥabūr basin with Mardaman to the north of it, the Balīḥ Valley, including the (unshown) site of Tuttul, and by implication all of Syria beyond the frame of the map are left blank, as though the entire area were a no-man's-land or a region with no relation whatever to Ur III.⁴⁴⁷

Similarly, P. Michalowski quoted Šu-Sin's list (beginning with line 5') and noted with perplexity: "A translation of this seemingly simple enumeration of geographical names is not easy to provide. It is unlikely that Šu-Sin would have claimed dominion over these territories, all of which lay outside of his control." He then came up with a rather contrived explanation: "Thus, one can only surmise that the passage described lands and territories that honored the king in Ur at the occasion the original inscription commemorated"⁴⁴⁸—that is, his victories over Simanum and Ḥabura, or over Zabšali and Anšan. But in this case, what were the envoys of these countries doing in Drehem and Nippur before Šu-Sin's reign and after this memorable year?

The officials at Drehem, Nippur, and other places were not aware of a difference between eastern and western envoys. Sometimes they grouped them by regions in their accounts, but in other cases they listed persons of widely divergent origins together. At Drehem, all of them received more or less the same food allocations. And if northern Mesopotamia lay outside of Ur's control, why was the big destroyed administrative building of Naram-Sin at Tell Brak rebuilt, on the same foundations, by an Ur III king,⁴⁴⁹ clearly for the purpose of serving as an imperial headquarters and regional tribute-collecting center?⁴⁵⁰ To a great extent, the perception of the political

444. Printing error for Mardaman. On Steinkeller's map fig. 6, the place is spelled correctly and apparently placed at the site of Mardin—an old and wrong assumption that does not concern us here. But, as stated in n. 185 above, Mardaman of the Ur III texts is the homonymous city in the Transstigis.

445. Steinkeller 1987b: 37.

446. Steinkeller 1987b: 38 fig. 6.

447. Steinkeller's map was closely followed (in colors for the three zones of the Ur III empire) by Roaf (1990: 102); and approximately in Barnes and Hudson (1998: 17), map of the "Colonization of Mesopotamia," without division into zones.

448. Michalowski 1986b: 141: cf. p. 142: "Moreover, since Ur III kings never achieved control over Syria. . ."

449. See n. 168 above.

450. This role of the site would explain the relative rarity of north Mesopotamian city names in the Drehem records and the absence of the ancient name of Tell Brak (Nagar) in them and other Ur III texts published so far. In view of the character of the edifice in question, it should be assumed that it

reality of the Ur III empire is a question of semantics. The abstract terms “state,” “empire,” “control,” “dominion,” “independence,” and “vassal” can have different concrete meanings depending on their context and interpretation. The scholars who do not adhere to the minimalist view exemplified by Steinkeller and Michalowski may exaggerate in the opposite direction. Thus, for Edzard, “to the long-lasting possessions of Ur III should be counted, beside the plain of Babylonia, also the Diyala area, the areas on the middle Euphrates (center Mari), and on the middle flow of the Tigris (center Assur).”⁴⁵¹ However, the status of Mari differed from the status of the Diyala and middle Tigris areas. Diakonoff stated: “We know from other sources that the kings of Ur built at Tell Brak . . . and for some time possessed the city-states of Ebla and Uršu. . . . Mari and other cities on the middle Euphrates undoubtedly belonged to them.”⁴⁵² The expressions “possessed” and “belonged” are misapplied in this context.

Mari was probably the most important of the states that may be called vassals of Ur III, and it has yielded a few contemporaneous inscriptions. It may thus be taken as an example. It “belonged” to the Ur III monarchy no more than the duchy of Normandy “belonged” to the kings of France prior to its annexation as a crown land by Philip II Augustus. The dukes of Normandy were vassals of the kings of France with limited and precisely stipulated obligations: homage, investiture, oath of allegiance, provision of a fixed number of armed men for a fixed number of days, and, under specific conditions, monetary aid. If a vassal violated any of these obligations, his fiefdom could be forfeited, but otherwise he was free to govern it.⁴⁵³ J.-M. Durand used a felicitous definition in stating that “Mari was attached [*rattaché*] to the Sumerian empire.”⁴⁵⁴ I. J. Gelb had this to say about the dual status of Mari in the Ur III period:

The continuous dependence of the governor-generals⁴⁵⁵ of Mari is witnessed by Ur III administrative texts which show that the governor-generals of Mari fully participated in the economic and religious life of Babylonia.⁴⁵⁶ At the same time, their

contained an archive of tablets (as did its predecessor from the reign of Naram-Sin and the somewhat later palace at Urkiš; see Milano 1991 and Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995, 1996). Unfortunately, as has frequently happened in the ancient Near East, the building was emptied of its contents, with the exception of one tablet and one bulla.

451. Edzard 1965: 143.

452. Diakonoff 1983: 283.

453. The position of the client kings of Rome, euphemistically called “allies and friends of the Roman people,” and before them the position of the subject kings of Assyria, are even closer to the conditions at Ur III because the relations were simpler and lacked the complications of the medieval West European feudalism with its multilevel system of vassalage.

454. Durand 1985: 157.

455. This is Gelb’s rendition of the term *šakkanakku* (Akkadian from Sumerian *šagan* or *šagina*), the title of the highest official at Mari from the Sargonic to the early Old Babylonian period. This office in other parts of the Ur III empire is usually translated “general.”

456. As stated by Gelb (1992: 121, author’s note), “although anachronistic, the convenient term ‘Babylonia’ is used in this paper for the area extending from the Tigris-Euphrates neck southward to the Persian Gulf.”

independence is manifested in their votive inscriptions which, contrary to the tradition, never refer to their Babylonian overlords.⁴⁵⁷

The overly absolute term “independence” was replaced by “de facto semi-independent” a few pages later.⁴⁵⁸

King Šu-Sin availed himself of the prerogative of future suzerains: abolishing the autonomy of some of his vassals and annexing their lands. This happened to Simanum, linked, like Mari, to the Ur III dynasty by matrimonial ties,⁴⁵⁹ and its ally Ḫabura after their rebellion in Šu-Sin’s Year 2, as well as to Ura’um and Ninua (Nineveh), which may have supported them.⁴⁶⁰ Prior to that year, Ḫabura, Simanum, and Ura’um had their own rulers (*ensí* or *lú*) and sent their envoys to Drehem; and Ninua had at least a ruler of its own.⁴⁶¹ But in that year, all four were transformed into *erín*—that is, military colonies.⁴⁶² At Simanum, this was accompanied by large deportations. Under these conditions the tablet from Ešnunna, dated to Šu-Sin’s Year 3, that dealing with allocations there of flour to *Ti-iš-a-tal lú Ni-nu-a^{ki}* and a hundred-odd of his companions, looks less like a diplomatic visit with an unusually numerous escort than it does the deportation of a conquered city ruler with his notables.

We are now coming to the final aspect of vassalage: tribute. Steinkeller, as cited above, asserted that peripheral states, including Ebla and other Syrian entities, did not pay the *gún mada* tax, which marked them as lying outside the pale of the Ur III empire. Of course they did not pay the *gún mada*, and why would they? They were not one of Ur’s military colonies (*erín*). But does this mean that they paid no tax whatever? This is very unlikely. The envoys of these states came to Drehem (Puzriš-Dagan) only as recipients, for their provisions, of meat on the hoof from the herds of bovines, sheep, and goats driven there by the *eríns*; their taxes were delivered elsewhere. To quote the pertinent remark by D. Owen, “the uniformity of the record suggests that the Puzriš-Dagan archive did not record what must have been important gift exchanges from the city-state rulers of Syria and of Elam, whose ambassadors are found often in the same archival records.”⁴⁶³

A crucial document in this regard has been available since 1937.⁴⁶⁴ It is a tablet dated to Šulgi’s Year 46, not from Drehem but from Nippur, the principal shrine of Sumer and Akkad and the beneficiary of much of the *bala*, *gún mada*, and other contributions.⁴⁶⁵ The tablet records the delivery of 500 *tilpānu*-weapons (GIŠ.SUB)

457. Gelb 1992: 162.

458. Gelb 1992: 164.

459. Michalowski 1975. The ruler of Simanum married Kunšimatum, daughter of Šu-Sin.

460. For the proposed locations of Ḫabura, Simanum, and Ura’um, see Astour 1987: 42–47 and map, p. 9. The Ur III domain reached farther north than Assur and Urbilum, as assumed by Steinkeller (1987b: 37), or than Assur, according to Michalowski (1978: 44).

461. Called *Tiš-atal* in a text from Šu-Sin’s Year 3—not from Drehem but from Ešnunna, published by Whiting 1976. The case of Nineveh, which is virtually unattested in Ur III records, is in general a peculiar one.

462. For *erín* Simanum, see references in *RGTC* 2:165; for the *eríns* of the other three cities, see Philip Watson 1986: text 4.

463. Owen 1992: 116; for “gift exchanges,” see n. 481 below.

464. Pohl 1937: text 313 = Owen 1992: text 59.

465. Hallo 1960; cf Steinkeller 1987b: 28, 29 n. 36.

of *ṣudiānum*-wood and 500 containers (^{giš}kāb-kul) of the same wood, tribute of the “man” of Ebla (gún lū-*Eb-la*^{ki}) by his man (envoy) Zurim.⁴⁶⁶ *Tilpānu* is commonly understood as either a bow or a throw-stick, a kind of an undeveloped boomerang.⁴⁶⁷ B. Eichler convincingly identified it as a javelin.⁴⁶⁸ Steinkeller, in a note on the container, which he transliterated ^{giš}kāb-kul and identified with Akkadian *kabkūru*, thought that the 500 containers were cases for the 500 *tilpānu*-weapons.⁴⁶⁹ But bows, let alone javelins, were not carried or stored in wooden boxes; bows, if needed, could be placed in leather sheaths. One may assume that the wooden containers were intended for various uses not connected with weapons.⁴⁷⁰

The key word in the quoted passage is, of course, *gún*. Hallo translated it by its primary meaning, ‘tribute’,⁴⁷¹ Michalowski by ‘impost’,⁴⁷² but Steinkeller, who did not mention the text in his fundamental article on the Ur III administration, in a later note gave it the ad hoc translation ‘the diplomatic gift of the ruler of Ebla’.⁴⁷³ But we know what a diplomatic gift was in the ancient Near East. The gifts from Ebla to the king of Kiš always consisted of two or three garments and sometimes of a gold ingot of 40 shekels—the standard amount in gifts to foreign kings;⁴⁷⁴ the gift to King Maran of Nagar was one linen garment of good quality;⁴⁷⁵ one mina of silver was sent for the gods of Akšak and the same amount for the gods of Adab;⁴⁷⁶ in order to establish brotherly relations, King Irkab-Damu sent Zi-zi, king of Ḥamazi, ten pieces of boxwood and two parts, also of boxwood, for a chariot;⁴⁷⁷ the king of Ḥamazi sent

466. Zurim also appears as the envoy of Ebla in two other Drehem records from the same year and perhaps (the name is heavily damaged) in a record from Year 7 of Amar-Sin (Owen 1992: 120).

467. See Bonnet 1926: 110, fig. 50, drawings of four specimens after their representations on ancient Near Eastern works of art; and 1926: 112, a relief of Gilgameš holding such a weapon, from Nimrud. In his discussion (pp. 108–14), Bonnet cited the fact that the use of the throw-stick in battle is not attested in writing or in art.

468. Eichler 1983: 101–2. His reasons, briefly, are that the *tilpānu* is not only described as being thrown at the adversary (which excludes the bow) but also as piercing (which excludes the throw-stick).

469. Steinkeller 1991.

470. The material for both kinds of artifacts, the wood of the *ṣudiānum*-tree, has not yet been identified (see n. 204 above). It was evidently considered a superior material in Mesopotamia. In the quotation in CAD N/1 135, s.v. *naḥbatu* (‘a case for precious objects’), from the Tello text ITT 5 6972:2, 10, ^{giš}eme.sig ^{giš}taskarin pisan.na.ab.ḥa.tum ensi.ka.šè, could the first designation of the material of the ten cases from the ensi (the second being boxwood), ^{giš}eme.sig, be connected with entry VE 434 in the Sumerian-Eblaic vocabulary: *giš.eme - zi-ti-a-num/nu*? If *tilpānu* is ‘javelin’, one is put in mind of ash-wood, from which ancient Greeks made shafts for their spears, which in the Homeric epics were used for throwing, not thrusting.

471. Hallo 1960: 88 n. 5.

472. Michalowski (1978: 35, 45), though with some doubts about its application to Ebla, “perhaps as an impost connected with trade relations.”

473. Steinkeller 1991.

474. Archi 1987c: 125–26; cf. also Archi 1987d: 43–52.

475. ARET 7 16 §19.

476. Part 1: 64.

477. TM.75.G.2342:III:5–6, published by Pettinato 1977: 239–40 and again in 1979a: 120–22. This Ḥamazi (or Ḥamaši) should not be identified with the country by the same name in the Transtigris but assumed to have been located somewhere in the central part of northern Mesopotamia. The king of Ebla asked his counterpart in Ḥamazi to send him some “good BAR.AN” (who were not “mercenaries”

the king of Ebla a mina of silver.⁴⁷⁸

For Mari, where this type of gift is very well attested, we shall limit our references to two groups of texts. One group deals with King Yaḥdun-Lim's tour of newly conquered territories, during which he distributed gifts to local and foreign kings, chieftains, and other persons at the gates of several cities.⁴⁷⁹ Altogether, 77 garments of different specifications were distributed. Only in 2 cases (texts nos. 101 and 114) did a person receive 2 garments; in all other cases each person received one garment, including the king of Yapturum and the son and the envoy of the king of Ḥabba'um (both located west of the upper Ḥabūr), as well as foreign royalty: the king of Turukku (on the Lesser Zab) and the son of the powerful king of Ešnunna. The king of Ešnunna, for his part, also sent one garment to Yaḥdun-Lim. Besides garments, 2 bronze objects called *uruštum* were given to 2 individuals.

The other group of texts covers the journey of King Zimri-Lim to Ugarit via the upper Ḥabūr and middle Balīḥ areas and Ḥalab, the capital of Yamḥad (and, it should be noted, this group includes the texts of another Mariote team that traveled through the southern confines of Yamḥad and whose stages must not be considered to be part of the same itinerary as the stages of Zimri-Lim).⁴⁸⁰ The gifts that Zimri-Lim gave to or received from other kings and dignitaries are incomparably more sumptuous and varied than Yaḥdun-Lim's gifts. Besides garments, they consisted of silver and gold vessels, jewelry (rings, earrings, necklaces), weapons (daggers, javelins, a sling), seals, a plaque of lapis-lazuli, and five or ten jars of wine. But the quantities, in each case, were small: no more than three garments (except Zimri-Lim's offering to the temple of Adad of Ḥalab, although it was not many more), one vase, one piece of jewelry, and one or two weapons.⁴⁸¹ In the thirteenth century, under Shalmaneser

according to Pettinato but, as now definitely established, hybrids of onagers and donkeys; see Van Lerberghe 1996: 113–14). A BAR.AN (or ANŠE.BAR.AN) was valued six times more than a simple donkey. Evidently the king of Ebla did not ask for the animals as a reciprocal gift but intended to buy them; but in the diplomatic correspondence of that and following periods it was considered impolite to speak of buying, selling, and paying. Archi, in a forthcoming article cited by van Lerberghe (1996: 114), showed that Ebla received its BAR.AN almost exclusively from Nagar, where the art of catching and breeding onagers was apparently well developed. A place called *Ḥamišānum* is mentioned in three Old Assyrian texts as a road stop on one of the routes to Cappadocia (*RGTC* 4:48); it may have been a variant of *Ḥamazi/Ḥamaši*.

478. The mina of silver was transmitted to the king of Ebla through the king of Armi, one of Ebla's principal vassals. The transaction was recorded twice: once in the small tablet ARET 7 22 §1, in which the toponym is written *Ḥu-ma-K[A]^{ki}*, that is, *Ḥu-ma-z[ū]^{ki}* (rather than *-b[ū]*); the second time, almost in the same words, in the unpublished long register TM.75.G.1462 obv. X:9–rev. I:11 (quoted in ARES 2 260), in which the toponym is written *Ḥa-ma-za-a^{ki}*. The identity of the two remained unnoticed in ARES 2.

479. This series of 22 tablets was published by Charpin 1994. Thirteen of them had been included in ARMT 22.

480. Summarized and investigated by Villard 1986. The texts were published in ARMT 23 and 25.

481. The larger quantities (in talents) of tin, sent to different places, were intended to be sold, not given as gifts. When merchandise was delivered by one king to another in more than symbolic quantity, the sender expected to receive instead another merchandise of about the same value, otherwise he was very offended. Compare the case of the two horses sent by King Išḫi-Addu of Qaṭanum to his son-in-law

I, an Assyrian envoy who went to Canaan (^{kur}*Ki-na-ḫi*, the Egyptian possessions in southern Syria and Palestine) was given three garments made in Arbail; evidently they were gifts for Egyptian high officials.⁴⁸²

However, there is nothing symbolic or diplomatic in Ebla's *gún* to Šulgi. The huge figures speak for themselves. It was called "tribute," and it was a tribute—a heavy one. One cannot even claim that it was a one-time payment, an introductory indication of good will: it was delivered in Šulgi's Year 46, while the first appearance of an Eblean envoy at Drehem occurred two years earlier. Let us try to visualize what it meant, in practice, to raise such a tribute.

First, one had to send a team of lumbermen to cut down and trim a sufficient number of *šudiānum*-trees in the Ġebel Anṣariyeh (the only wooded area that remained to Ebla after the secession of the Amanus region), take them down the steep eastern slope of the range, ferry them across the Orontes, and haul them to Ebla. Then the logs had to be sawed into boards, and the boards reserved for the making of javelin shafts had to be sawed again into narrow strips of standard length. These four-sided strips had to be transformed, by adze, into round poles and made perfectly smooth. This is a great deal of work when the number is 500. But without their points they were still not javelins but only sticks. One had to cast 500 bronze spearheads. Fortunately, a passage in an Ebla text dealing with metals provides us with useful specifications.⁴⁸³ Thirty-nine minas and 20 shekels (18.5 kg)⁴⁸⁴ of tin were fused with 300 minas (141 kg) of copper (altogether 159.5 kg—in round figures, 160 kg) to make 2000 *giš-gu-kak-gíd-zabar* 'bronze spearheads'.⁴⁸⁵ This yields the weight of 80 g for one spearhead. The points for the 500 javelins that Ebla gave to Šulgi would have required 40 kg of bronze.

Yasmaḥ-Addu of Mari, for which he received, as he complained, a miserable quantity of tin (ARM 5 20; cf. Dossin 1954: 424), or the case of King Mekum of Apišal (north of Carchemish) who stopped shipping wine to Yasmaḥ-Addu because he had received from him too little tin in return (Charpin and Ziegler 1997: 243–46, text A.877). The same is true for the so-called "gifts" (*šulmānu*) sent to the pharaohs of the Amarna period by their peers in western Asia: they openly demanded gold or (in the case of the king of Alašya) silver.

482. Weidner 1962: 37–38 (text VAT 8009).

483. TM.75.G.1860 rev. XVII:4–8, quoted by Waetzoldt 1981: 371, from the unpublished tablet; it has since been published as MEE 10 20.

484. Proceeding from the assumption that an Eblean mina = 470 g and an Eblean shekel = 7.8 g, according to Archi 1987a.

485. This term also appears in VE 479, *giš-gu-kak-gíd = ḫi-tum*, and in several business and ritual texts of Ebla. The Sumerian word has been explained by Archi (ARET 1: 284) and elsewhere as 'spearhead', and its Eblaic equivalent, by Fronzaroli (1988: 24–25) as */ḫiṛ-um/* '(sharp) point'; cf. Conti 1990: 139 with other references. A similar term, VE 481a *giš-gu-šub-kak-urudu*, VE 481b *giš-gu-šub-urudu*, is rendered *ma-ti-um*. Archi (ad loc.) translated its occurrences in ARET 1 as 'fused point'; but what object of bronze is not fused? I prefer to understand *šub* in its other meaning: "to hurl, to throw down," as in *gišSUB-tilpānum*. *Ma-ti-um* was explained as 'stick', Hebrew *maṭṭeh* (Pomponio 1982: 215 n. 18); but the ending *-ium* could be used in Akkadian to form adjectives, especially ethnics, often used as toponyms (at Ebla *Armium*, *Kakmium*, etc.; at Tell Beydar *Ḫalabium*, *Erium*; Sargonic *Gutium*, *Ubium*; Ur III *Abarnium*, *Gigibinium*, *Mardamanium*, *Nimšium*, *Put-tulium*, *Zidanium*), */Maṭṭium/* may be understood as 'having shaft, shafted'—that is, a complete javelin.

The remaining boards of *šudiānum*-wood had to be entrusted to highly skilled cabinetmakers to be cut, planed, polished, supplied with joints, and assembled into 500 boxes. The total number of man-hours spent on the tribute cannot be calculated, but it must have been considerable.

Because of the dearth of information on other northwestern peripheral states of Ur III, we must consider Ebla typical for all of them. In the only Ur III tablet that mentions a ruler of Ebla by name,⁴⁸⁶ his title is *ensí* ‘governor’, which in itself conveys the notion of dependency,⁴⁸⁷ although back home the bearers of this title may have called themselves kings.⁴⁸⁸ What kept the rulers of Syrian states in the position of tributaries of the Ur III kings even though, as is well known and often repeated, these kings never conducted armed actions west of the Euphrates? The answer, while admittedly conjectural, might be that their powerful and loyal vassals, the *šakkanakkus* of Mari, did it for them.⁴⁸⁹ The state of Mari at that time comprised again, like its pre-Sargonic predecessor, the Middle Euphrates Valley from the narrows down and the valley of the lower *Ḥabur*; no cities or towns of these areas, except Mari itself, are mentioned in the Ur III texts.⁴⁹⁰ When Ebla still headed a vast empire, it took it about a hundred years and a heavy indemnity to stop Mariote invasions; at the time of Ur III, when the Ebla Empire fell apart but Mari again commanded a wide and well-settled area, the threat of Mariote arms may have been sufficient to keep fragmented successor states in submission.

The Ur III tablet that, as mentioned in passing above, relates the name of an *ensí* of Ebla, comes from Year 7 of Amar-Sin and was published in 1987.⁴⁹¹ The name is written *Me-gu-um*. It is so far the only known name of a ruler of Ebla during the *Mardīḥ* IIB2 period. But the importance of the tablet is far greater. By an extraordinary coincidence, an Eblean ruler by the same name is also mentioned on two inscribed monuments, one found at Ebla and the other at Boğazköy, and on a seal found at Kültepe. Taken together, these sources provide the chronological frame for

486. See n. 491 below.

487. See p. 87 above. Other peripheral rulers designated *ensis* (and not merely *lú*) in Ur III texts were rulers of Abarnium, Gubla, Duduli, *Ḥamazi*, *Kimaš*, *Magan*, *Marḥaši*, *Rimuš*, *Sigriš*, *Simanum*, *Tutula*, *Ura’um*, and *Zabšali*.

488. A similar terminological convention obtained in the Syro-Palestinian zone of sovereignty in the Egyptian New Kingdom, where local city rulers called themselves *ḥazannu* ‘mayors’ in letters to the pharaohs but used the designation “kings” for rulers of the same rank outside the Egyptian zone. However, Hittite and Neo-Assyrian kings did not begrudge their vassals a royal title. Two *šakkanakkus* of Mari, one at the beginning, the other at the end of the Ur III period, called themselves not only *šagin* but also *lugal* in their votive inscriptions (see Durand 1985: 148, 151–52).

489. The extant inscriptions of the *šakkanakkus* of the Ur III period are either votive in nature or on seals; one commemorates the digging of a canal from the *Ḥabūr* (the inscriptions are collected and discussed in Durand 1985).

490. *Erín-Ti-ir-ga*^{ki} (de Genouillac 1911 54:I:3) is not the well-known *Tirqa* on the Euphrates, upstream from Mari, as stated in *RGTC* 2:192. As is clearly shown by its being an *erín*, it is the homonymous place in the *Transtigris*, listed in geographical texts as *Ter-qa-an*^{ki}, *Ter-qa-an-IGI.ḤUR.SAG*^{ki}, *Ter-qa-an-IGI.Gu-ti(-um)*^{ki}. See *MSL* 11:35, 36, and 133 in *Transtigridian* contexts.

491. Owen and Veenker 1987.

and the historical circumstances of the end of the Mardīḥ IIB2 period. Their study, comparison, and interpretation require a separate section.

9. *King Mekum and the End of Ebla IIB2*

(a) The Trout Tablet 1

The tablet designated Trout Tablet 1 came to the Kentucky Museum, Western Kentucky University, as part of the collection of artifacts and memorabilia of Alan Trout.⁴⁹² It was discovered there by Prof. Ronald A. Veenker. He photographed, copied, transliterated, and subsequently published it jointly with Prof. David I. Owen, who contributed most of the comprehensive historical commentary.⁴⁹³ From the point of view of format, it is a standard Drehem record: it registers the delivery of 11 goats and sheep to the envoys of Mari, Uršu, Tuttul, and Ebla and to two Su-a^{ki}-men, envoys of Yabrad. What is new is a reference to a (in line 15) *Me-gu-um ensi Eb-la^{ki}* by name and title so far the only attestation of the name of an Eblean ruler in Ur III documents. This reference is combined with the text's date in Year 7 of Amar-Sin, 1976 in terms of absolute chronology, 12 years after the first appearance of an Eblean envoy at Drehem (1987) and 8 years before the last one (1968). In Old Akkadian (Sargonic and Ur III) writing, *gu* also stood for *ku₈* and *qū*, and Owen immediately connected the newly revealed name of an Eblean ruler with a detail, misunderstood before then, in an inscription from Ebla itself and with the name of a king of Ebla in a later but relevant literary work, announced but not yet published by then.⁴⁹⁴

(b) The Statue Inscription of Ibbiṭ-Lim

The statue, of which only the torso remained, was found at Tell Mardīḥ, not in situ, and received the inventory number TM.68.G.61.⁴⁹⁵ It bears a cuneiform inscription of 26 lines, of which line 1 is damaged in the middle, and parts of lines 20–26 are missing because of an oblique break.⁴⁹⁶ The inscription was published by G. Pettinato in hand copy, transliteration, and (tentative) translation.⁴⁹⁷ Its language is the Eblaic dialect of Akkadian, with an Assyrianism⁴⁹⁸ and an un-Akkadian syntax

492. An extremely condensed preliminary draft of this section was delivered at the national meeting of the American Oriental Society, Chapel Hill, N.C., on April 19, 1993.

493. See n. 491 above. It was also included in the collection of Ur III texts pertaining to Syria and Syrians as text no. 55 in Owen 1992.

494. Owen and Veenker 1987: 269–70, 272 and n. 30, and 273–75.

495. Matthiae 1970: 68 and figs. 23–26; 1971: 60–61; 1981: 58–59, 134–35; in Matthiae and Pettinato 1972: 1–17.

496. These lines are of little importance for the evaluation of the inscription as a historical document.

497. Pettinato 1970; reproduced in 1979a: 23–25 and 1986: 35–37.

498. *Me-er-e-šu* 'his sons', lines 12 and 22. Pettinato (1970: 22) noted the text's "paleographic and linguistic similarities to the Old Assyrian texts of Kültepe," but Parpola (1988) ascribed the Assyrian-like features of Eblaic to the early cognate relationship between Eblaic and what he called "Proto-Assyrian." On the other hand, we do not know how the word for 'son' was vocalized in Old Akkadian, when it was always written ideographically DUMU.

resembling West Semitic.⁴⁹⁹ The script has been defined by the *editor princeps* as “late Old Akkadian, corresponding to the historical period of the Third Dynasty of Ur,” “the cuneiform of monumental inscriptions,” and belonging “according to a careful paleographic examination . . . to the end of the Ur III dynasty, i.e., approximately to about 2000 B.C.”⁵⁰⁰ The figure 2000 is, of course, the rounded date (2004, middle chronology) of the end of Ur III. As an approximation, it has not been put in doubt by other scholars dealing with the inscription; the debatable question, as we shall see presently, is to which side of this conventional chronological line the inscription should be attributed. The content of the inscription is votive. The crucial lines, with a few explanatory notes, are as follows:⁵⁰¹

(1) *a-na* ^d[Eš₄-tár *a*]p-sà-am⁵⁰² (2) *I-bi-iṭ-Li-im* (3) DUMU *Ig-ri-iš-ḫi-ib*⁵⁰³ LUGAL
(4) *Me-ki-im Eb-la-i-im* (5) *ú-si-ri-ib*⁵⁰⁴ (6) MU 8 ša ^dEš₄-tár (7) *ta-ú-pí-a i-na Eb-la*⁵⁰⁵ (8) *ma-za-zu-um*⁵⁰⁶ (9) *I-bi-iṭ-Li-im* (10) *šu-um-šu a-na ba-la-ṭi-šu* (11) *ù ba-la-aṭ me-er-e-šu* (. . .).⁵⁰⁷

Setting aside, momentarily, the controversial lines 3–4, the translation of the passage would be:

499. On the nonstandard character of Eblaic Akkadian syntax and its analogies in West Semitic, see, among others, Pettinato 1979a: 73; Gelb 1981: 42–43; Parpola 1988: 295 (resulting from “Canaanization” of Eblaic due to Ebla’s location).

500. Pettinato 1970: 76; 1979a: 23; 1986: 38, respectively.

501. Besides the transliterations and translations by Pettinato mentioned in n. 497 above, others were presented by Heltzer 1975: 291–92; Owen and Veenker 1987: 270 and n. 23 (the first five lines); Gelb 1984a: 216; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 369–71.

502. Owen (in Owen and Veenker 1987: 269 n. 23, item) was of the opinion that the destroyed space in the middle of line 1 was narrower than on Pettinato’s hand copy and could not contain the signs *eš₄* and *dar* (*tár*). But the spacing between the signs depended on how many of these the lapidary (or the tablet which he copied) placed on one line; besides, the first sign of *eš₄-tár* is very small (a *Winkelhacken*), and the remaining determinative points to a divine name. Owen also hinted at the possibility that, while the statue (*mazāzum*) was dedicated to Eštar, the basin (*apsum*) may have been dedicated to some other deity. But as noted by Kienast (in Gelb and Kienast 1990: 370), the whole inscription honors Eštar (who is mentioned there four times), so another divine name in line 1 is unlikely.

503. Pettinato assumed for the sign IB the unattested reading *epa_x* in order to obtain *ḫe-epa_x* (the western Hurrian goddess Ḫebat or Ḫepa/Ḫipa in theophoric names of the second millennium). But there are no onomastic parallels to this assumption. The only other case in which *-ḫi-ib* appears in a personal name is *Ar⁷-zi-ḫi-ib* at Mari, which Sasson (1974: 377) compared to Eblean *Igrīš-ḫib*. The element *-ḫib* may have an Akkadian etymology, but it is not important for the present subject.

504. Read *ú-ší-ri-ib*, Akk. *ušerib* ‘brought in’.

505. The first, nonstandard sign of line 7 was taken for *ša* by Pettinato, which left unexplained the masculine gender of the verb *ú-pi-a*. W. Lambert (1981: 96) recognized the sign as *ta*, which yielded the 3d-person sg. fem. preterite *ta-ú-pi-a*; accepted in Gelb 1984a: 221–23; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 370–71.

506. The dictionaries (AHw 638–39; CAD M/1 234–39) define *manzāzu(m)/mazzāzu(m)*, the concrete object, as ‘stand, socle’. In the Ibbiṭ-Lim inscription, as evidenced by the passage following line 11, it designates the very statue on which it is engraved. Gelb and Kienast (1990: 371) credit W. Lambert (1981: 96) with the new meaning of the word. However, it was used by Pettinato already in the *editio princeps* of the inscription. Gelb (1984a: 216, 221–22) kept to the old translation ‘stand’.

507. The verb serving as the predicate of the sentence is missing in the inscription. Pettinato restored it (*i-pu-uš-ma*) ‘made’, in the sense of ‘caused to be sculpted’; Gelb 1984a: 216, Gelb and Kienast 1990: 370, (*ištur²*) (‘wrote’).

(1) To [Eštar], a basin (2) Ibbiṭ-Lim, (3) son of Igrīš-ḥib LUGAL (4) *Me-ki-im Eb-la-i-im*, (5) brought in (6) (in) the eighth year since Eštar (7) (re)appeared at Ebla. (8) (Upon) the statue, (9) Ibbiṭ-Lim (10) his name for his life (11) and the life of his sons (has inscribed?).

When the inscribed torso was discovered at Tell Mardīḥ in 1968, it was the first, and for several years the only, epigraphic find at the site. It was therefore understandable that LUGAL, Ibbiṭ-Lim's title, was translated 'king' by the first publisher of the inscription. But it is not understandable at all that even after the archives of Ebla had revealed that the word for 'king' (of Ebla itself or of its vassal rulers)⁵⁰⁸ was *en*, while *lugal* was the designation for the Eblean king's subordinates (district governors or heads of departments), the conviction that Ibbiṭ-Lim was the king of Ebla continued unabated,⁵⁰⁹ even though it left *me-ki-im eb-la-i-im* dangling as a grammatical and lexical puzzle. Pettinato rendered it in French, "de la 'lignée' éblaïte"; in Italian, "della 'stirpe' eblaïta" (that is, "of Eblaïte 'race'"), candidly admitting that "the translation 'race' for *mēkûm* is *ad sensum*, for it has been drawn from the context. However, the term is not very clear from the lexical point of view."⁵¹⁰ Garbini also took *meqûm* (as he normalized it) for a noun that he interpreted 'league, confederation'.⁵¹¹ Heltzer, on the other hand, saw *me-ki-im* as the nominative *mēqîm*, a *meqtil* formation of the West Semitic root *qwm*, and translated "imposed by the people of Ebla (Ebleans)."⁵¹² Gelb also derived the supposed *me-qî-im* from the root *qwm*, but as an active participle, and rendered it "who raises (the spirits of) the Ebleans."⁵¹³ Kienast slightly paraphrased it as "who had raised (again) the Eblaïtes," with the remark: "We cannot follow the attempt to relate our *me-qî-im* with *Me-GU-um ensi Ebla* 'MeGUum, prince of Ebla,' a governor (*Statthalter*) under Amarsu'ena of Ur (see on it D. I. Owen and R. Veenker [1987])."⁵¹⁴ For G. Wilhelm, Meki was "probably originally a title or a traditional name."⁵¹⁵ Even Owen and Veenker did not quite know what to do with *Me-ki-im* in the torso inscription and guessed "that Yibbiṭ-Lim and MeGum are, in fact, one and the same!"⁵¹⁶

These guesses, complications, and contradictions are removed if we use Eblean terminology in an Eblean inscription and follow straightforward grammar: "Ibbiṭ-

508. But not for the kings of Mari, whose title in the Ebla texts was *lugal*.

509. Of course the torso inscription belongs to the Mardīḥ IIB2 period and not to the period of the archives (IIB1). But it must be remembered that, in the words of the director of the archaeological mission at Tell Mardīḥ quoted on p. 74 above, "the transition from Mardikh IIB1 to Mardikh IIB2 is marked by the destruction of the palace but not by any break of cultural development." The title *en* in the broadly contemporaneous ax inscription of the ruler of Tuttul (p. 110 above) points to its survival in the former Eblean Empire.

510. Pettinato 1970: 75.

511. Garbini 1976.

512. Heltzer 1975: 291, with detailed substantiation on pp. 292–95. In the given English context, he probably understood "imposed" as "raised," "established."

513. Gelb 1984a: 216, 218–19.

514. Gelb and Kienast 1990: 370–71. Kienast did not explain why not. Gelb's study of the inscription appeared before the disclosure of *Me-GU-um* in Trout Tablet 1.

515. Wilhelm (1992: 123), in an article devoted only to the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual.

516. Owen and Veenker 1987: 269 n. 23, item 3.

Lim, son of Igrīš-ḥib, a governor of Mekum the Eblean.” The man who had dedicated a libation basin and his statue to Eštar was not the king of Ebla but one of the territorial governors of the Ebla kingdom that was ruled at that time by Mekum—the same person who was the ruler (*ensí* in the political parlance of Ur III) of Ebla according to the tablet of Amar-Sin’s Year 7. *Mekum* is neither ‘race’, ‘league’ nor an honorific epithet nor a “traditional name” but simply the personal name of the king of Ebla, cognates of which are found in the Ebla texts of the preceding period,⁵¹⁷ and which reappeared some 250 years later as a royal name elsewhere in Syria.⁵¹⁸ That “Mekum the Eblean” was indeed a designation used for the ruler in question is confirmed by the seal inscriptions to be considered in the next section. The Ebla archives contain several records of statues dedicated to various temples not only by the king (en) but also by members of his family,⁵¹⁹ by sons of viziers,⁵²⁰ by the lugal Zariq-Damu,⁵²¹ by sons of *Zú-x-ne-x* of Abarsal,⁵²² by a royal cupbearer;⁵²³ and of several statues dedicated by Lagunu, Irdati, and other persons.⁵²⁴ A number of inscribed votive statues come from Mari in the age of šakkanakkus contemporary with Ur III, of which the inscription on the statuette of Laškan⁵²⁵ comes closest to that of Ibbi-Lim:

La-áš-ka-an / DUMU *Ás-qú-di-im* / AB×*ÁŠ Nu-mi-ni-im*⁵²⁶ / AN-DÜL-šu / *a-na An-nu-ni-[tim]* / *ù-sa-li-s[in_x]* ‘Laškan, son of Asqudum, an elder of Numinum, has dedicated his statue to Annunitum’.

517. *Mi-ga*, *Mi-ga-ià/Me-ga-ià* (several persons, one of them a royal son, another an intendant of hybrid onagers and donkeys), *Mi-KUM-^dKu-ra* (listed in Krebern timer 1988: 250–51 and in Archi 1988a: 228). Regarding the other two personal names in the inscription, anthroponyms with the element *igriš-* are found in Ebla texts in simple (*Ig-rí-su*, *Ig-rí-sa*, *Ig-rí-iš*) or compound formations (*Ig-rí-iš-Ḥa-lam*, *Ig-rí-iš-kam₄*, *Ig-rí-iš-Da-mu*, *Ig-rí-iš-Li-im*) but not among the inhabitants of other major cities of the empire (such as collected by Archi 1984a) or in the Amorite anthroponymy of the Ur III texts (Buccellati 1966) and Mari archives (Huffmon 1965). Names in *-Li-im* are numerous at Ebla and in the Syro-Mesopotamian area of the Middle Bronze Age; for Ur III and Old Babylonian names with *ibbiṭ/inbiṭ*, see Gelb 1984a: 217.

518. It will be discussed in section (d) below.

519. By *Íl-²ā-ak-Da-mu* (= Ír²ak-Damu, son of King Íš²ar-Damu; cf. ARES 1 225, 227), TM.75. G.2429 rev. XXIX:8–12, quoted in ARET 4 205, s.v. an-dùl; by Tirin-Damu (daughter of the same king; cf. ARES 1 240), MEE 2 48 obv. VII:7–VIII:2.

520. By *Ír-^dMa-l[ik]* (son of Ibrium; cf. ARES 1 234), ARET 3 513 rev. I; by Dubuḥu-Ada, son of Ibbi-Zikir (cf. ARES 1 236), ARET 7 42 §1.

521. MEE 2 48 obv. VIII:3–7; he is registered in a list of lugals, MEE 2 49 rev. II:8; cf. colophon, rev. V:1, lugal-lugal.

522. MEE 2 48 obv. VIII:8–IX:6; in ARES 1 87 his name is transliterated KA-sa-NE-NAM.

523. ARET 7 34 §1.

524. ARET 3 178 (a list of offerings to gods) rev. XIII:8–18.

525. The statuette (with head and feet missing) is reproduced in Parrot 1974: 135, fig. 85; its inscription was published by Thureau-Dangin 1937 and again by Durand 1985: 152, item (f), in transliteration.

526. Durand (1985: 152) transliterated *Nu-mi-lí-in₅* and considered it a toponym derived from a personal name, a variant writing of *Nuḥmi-Lim*. I prefer to see it as a personal name and to normalize it *Numinum*, comparable to ^m*Nu-me-nu* (PRU 4 113:23), a dragoman apparently from the Kingdom of Carchemish. Durand transliterated the final sign of *Ás-qú-di-im* and *Nu-mi-lí-im* by its rare value *in₅* because, as he explained in n. 30, “nunation is constant in certain šakkanakku texts.” I left them, for simplicity’s sake, in their usual readings. The reference to the PN “numeni” in “AL 143” in Gröndahl 1967: 163 is doubly erroneous: the Alalah text is 243:8 and the name, though listed in the index of personal

We have here the same formula as at Ebla: PN₁, son of PN₂, functionary of PN₃ (genitival construction). The institution of elders is well attested in pre-Sargonic Mesopotamia, Mari,⁵²⁷ and most notably Ebla, as well as in Sargonic and Ur III Mesopotamia.⁵²⁸ During these periods, but not later, the word ‘elder(s)’ was written with the ideogram AB×ÁŠ.⁵²⁹ What was meant by the formula ‘in the eighth year since Eštar appeared (or “reappeared,” or “revealed herself”) at Ebla’ (Ibbi-Lim, lines 6–7)? It hardly refers to an actual theophany of the goddess; in the ancient world, deities revealed themselves to mortals not directly but through prophets, dreams, haruspicy, or omens.⁵³⁰ The guess that the formula referred to a restoration of the Eštar temple⁵³¹ is not convincing: in the very frequent cases when a temple was to be built or rebuilt, it was stated in straightforward terms. More likely, the inscription was referring to the statue of the goddess Eštar,⁵³² which was fairly common in the ancient Near East. She was already worshiped at Ebla at the time of the archives (called ^dAš-tár and, as a theophoric element, also ^dEš₄-tár),⁵³³ most often as ^dAš-tár Sa-a-za_x^{ki}, ‘Aštar of the treasury and management center of state property’, housed in the capital.⁵³⁴ Thus, in this context *ta-ú-pí-a* can only mean ‘reappeared’. It would seem that the statue of the goddess had once been taken away from Ebla and then returned eight years before the dedication of Ibbi-Lim’s statue.⁵³⁵

But does this statue, with its inscription, really date to the reign of Amar-Sin at Ur, as firmly stated by the publishers of the crucial tablet?⁵³⁶ Some scholars denied

names in Wiseman (1953: 143) as “Nu-me-ni,” is actually *A-na-nu-me-ni* in the hand copy on pl. 31 and the transliteration in Wiseman (1959: 21).

527. This we know from the reference to the “elders of Mari” in ten Ebla texts quoted in ARES 2 364, s.v. *Mari*, item NF, beginning.

528. The evidence on AB×ÁŠ, Akk. *šibu*, pl. *šibūtu*, has been collected, in its two meanings ‘elder’ and ‘witness’, by Gelb 1984b. Their presence at Ebla is noted but not included. The material was taken “almost exclusively from legal texts” and does not include the occurrence of AB×ÁŠ on the statuette of Laškan. Nor is it cited in the article on the same topic by Klengel 1989.

529. Gelb 1984b: 264.

530. It is only in literary compositions that deities converse in person with mortals: Ištar with Gilgameš, Anath with Aqhat, or Teššub with Meki of Ebla. In TCL 11 rev. 1, “the omen of Sargon who marched against Marḥaši and for whom Ištar appeared at the rising of her light,” quoted by J. Westenholz (1984: 79) and cited by Gelb (1984a: 220), clearly refers to Ištar as the Venus star, as noted by J. Westenholz. This is a periodical phenomenon and not an event to count from.

531. Gelb and Kienast 1990: 371.

532. The identification of the statue in a principal temple with the god or goddess whom it represented is well attested in ancient Near Eastern texts and needs no elaboration. So also is the widespread custom of carrying away divine statues (called by the name of the deity or “gods” in general) from conquered cities as practiced by the Hittites, Elamites, Assyrians, and others.

533. ARET 2 8 §3; quoted in MEE 1 775 (TM.75.G.1337), 855 (TM.75.G.1417), 979 (TM.75.G.1541).

534. This definition of Sa-a-za_x^{ki} was proposed in Part 1: 53.

535. Here I would allow myself a mere hunch—and I beg the readers and critics not to take it as a positive assertion. Mekum, Ibbi-Lim’s superior, is attested as the ruler of Ebla in Year 7 of Amar-Sin. Could it be that the statue of Eštar was taken away, as an act of reprisal, under Šulgi and returned to Ebla by Amar-Sin in his accession year?

536. Owen and Veenker 1987: 272.

it on different grounds. Matthiae, an archaeologist and art historian, tried to establish its age on the basis of artistic criteria. But how much can one deduce from an almost shapeless stump, without the head, hands, feet, or robe, and with the lower part of the beard as the sole anatomical feature? Soon after the discovery of the torso, Matthiae stated: “Stylistically the figure can be attributed to the Late Akkadian or Ur III period (ca. 2250–2200 B.C.) and therefore belonging probably to Period II.”⁵³⁷ A few years later, however, he admitted that the torso “is very difficult to date owing to its lack of any particularly significant characteristics. Probably it is to be assigned to the beginning of Middle Bronze I, since it has some stylistic features which would place it in an initial phase of the Archaic Old Syrian Period a little before 1900 B.C.”⁵³⁸ In another place in the same work, he wrote: “In the bust of Ibbit-Lim every attempt at modelling or search for plastic form is rejected in favour of a rather abstract manipulation of volumes,” and it “must have been made in the early years of Mardikh IIIA.”⁵³⁹

One should take into account, however, the fact that the statue was intended to bear a rather long inscription on its back and chest, for which the surface had to be even and smooth. Furthermore, does plastic minimalism necessarily point to relative lateness? H. Frankfort made a similar pronouncement about the statue of a šakkanakku of Mari: “The statue of Ištup-Ilum of Mari shows an almost brutal simplification of forms. This is a provincial trait. It occurs in an even more extreme form in north Syria.”⁵⁴⁰ Now this particular šakkanakku, Ištup-Ilum, was assigned by Durand, on the basis of a Mariote list of šakkanakkus and of synchronisms with Ur III, to the time of Gudea—that is, before the start of the Ur III dynasty.⁵⁴¹

Matthiae himself admitted that his dating of the statue was attained by “a combination of rather tenuous archaeological and epigraphic evidence.”⁵⁴² It seems that the latter played the greater role and that Matthiae was influenced by the opinions of epigraphists and linguists. Pettinato, who originally attributed the inscription to the end of the Ur III dynasty, around 2000,⁵⁴³ changed it a few years later to “around 2000–1900 B.C.”⁵⁴⁴—that is, well into the Isin-Larsa period. Still later he was of the opinion that “Ibbit-Lim would thus be the first ruler of Middle Bronze I, after the period of the city’s submission to the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur.”⁵⁴⁵

Gelb, in his study of the inscription, found that its signs

537. Matthiae 1971: 57.

538. Matthiae 1979: 58.

539. Matthiae 1979: 134.

540. Frankfort 1970: 116; Parrot 1974: pl. 28:2. Photos on a larger scale are found in Parrot 1961: 265, fig. 331; 266, fig. 332; 267, fig. 333. The treatment of the lower part of the beard is similar to that of the Ibbit-Lim statue but technically better.

541. Durand 1985: 156. His dates for Ištup-Ilum (Ištup-El) are 2147–2136; for Gudea, about 2150; and for Year 1 of Ur-Nammu, 2112.

542. Matthiae 1979: 135.

543. Cf. n. 500 above.

544. Pettinato 1979a: 26.

545. Pettinato 1986: 39.

appear to be closer to the Old Babylonian than to the Ur III period; the individual signs are not grouped together in cases containing one to three signs as in the Ur III period, but follow each other in horizontal lines containing up to about ten signs as from post-Ur III times on. Accordingly, the Jibbiṭ-Lîm inscription is to be dated to the end of the dark period between the time of Ibbî-Sin of Ur and the Lîm Dynasty at Mari.⁵⁴⁶

As for the latter statement, one may remark that the statue inscription of Puzur-Eštar, šakkanakku of Mari at the time of Amar-Sin and Šu-Sin,⁵⁴⁷ contains five, six, and seven signs, which is not a very different count from the Ibbiṭ-Lim inscription, in which only two lines (out of twenty-six) count eight signs and one line, nine.

Gelb's former argument, about the script, appears more serious. Unfortunately, he did not elaborate which signs in the inscription he found to resemble their Old Babylonian forms. But my colleague from Toronto, Douglas Frayne, after hearing my first short draft on the present topic,⁵⁴⁸ had the opportunity to discuss it with D. O. Edzard, who told him that the Ibbiṭ-Lim inscription could not belong to the Ur III period because of the shape of its sign *ma*.⁵⁴⁹ While in the Sargonic and monumental Ur III script its upper horizontal wedge protrudes leftward from the left vertical wedge, in the Eblean inscription this wedge is placed inward, parallel to the other two horizontal wedges of the sign, as in Old Assyrian (not in Old Babylonian, where the left vertical wedge is missing). But this is not an additional reason for assuming that the inscription was written in Old Assyrian, for the same form of *ma* was used in the latter half of the Ur III period—not in texts engraved in stone but in texts on clay tablets.⁵⁵⁰ Ibbiṭ-Lim's scribe was probably influenced by the ductus of tablets, now lost, that came to Ebla from Ur and other places in southern Mesopotamia. It is significant that Kienast, who finished Gelb's work on Akkadian royal inscriptions and followed the late scholar even in his interpretation of *Me-ki-im Eb-la-i-im*, tacitly rejected Gelb's arguments for relegating the inscription to the eve of the "Lim Dynasty" at Mari (that is, shortly before ca. 1830, middle chronology / 1766, low chronology) and assigned it to Ur III.⁵⁵¹

546. Gelb 1984a: 215. Krebern timer (1988: 199, 217), in a work the format of which did not require substantiations or explanations, marked the names *i-bi-id-li-im* and *ig-ri-iš-ĪI*.IB "aB" (Old Babylonian).

547. Published by Nassouhi 1926, with hand copy; chronology, Durand 1985: 156; photos, Parrot 1961: 268–69, figs. 334, 335.

548. Cf. n. 492 above.

549. I am greatly obliged to Douglas Frayne for informing me about the gist of his conversation with Edzard and providing me with, among other things, a copy of Schneider's chart (Schneider 1935: 10) showing the different forms of the sign in Ur III texts.

550. The new form was used along with the old one and a third variant, in which the upper horizontal wedge was suspended by its middle from the left vertical wedge. The choice seems to have depended on the scribe. For instance, in the Wabash 1 tablet, Year 1 of Amar-Sin (see n. 383 above), the "third variant" was used, but in the Trent Tablet, Year 7 of Amar-Sin, the sign used was the "new form," identical with MA in Ibbiṭ-Lim's inscription. See in this respect the general statement in Labat, *Manuel*, 8: "It would be a mistake to suppose that in a given period obtains a strictly and universally normalized style of script. . . . Each scribe has his particular 'hand,' more or less careful, more or less academic."

551. Gelb and Kienast 1990: 369. As reported by Owen and Wenker (1987: 272 n. 37), "[Pettinato] now is inclined to date the text to the Ur III period (personal communication)."

(c) The Seals with Mekum's Name

Additional proof of understanding *Me-ki-im Eb-la-i-im* as a genitive of a personal name with an ethnic designation has been provided by the impressions of two seals on Old Assyrian tablets from Kültepe. The legend of the first,⁵⁵² though written in mirror script, is easily legible on the drawing but had evoked no interest for fifty years until K. R. Veenhof collated it and communicated its contents to (insofar as I know) D. Collon, K. Nashef,⁵⁵³ and D. Owen, who in turn transmitted it to me. The inscription, in two transversal lines, reads (1) KIŠIB *Ib-Da/mu* (2) *Me-ki-im Eb-lá-[im]*.⁵⁵⁴ The new owner of the seal was the Assyrian merchant Aššur-nada. He affixed it to another tablet, with the legend only partly legible.⁵⁵⁵ Its publishers read it (1) KI[ŠIB] *Ur-da* (2) *Me-ki²-im x*, but the signs *ur* and *ib* are very similar, and C. Kühne recognized it as belonging to the previously known seal.⁵⁵⁶ The shape of most of the signs of the legend did not change perceptibly between the Late Old Akkadian (Ur III) and the Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian styles, but *da*, with its typical triangular downward salient, is clearly Old Akkadian. The name *Ib-Damu* belongs to the very common and typically Eblean pattern of personal names constructed with the theophoric element *Damu*, which include eight (out of twenty-two) names of the Eblean king list⁵⁵⁷ and three kings (one of them *Ib-Da-mu*, namesake of the original owner of the Kültepe seal⁵⁵⁸) and a prince of Emar.⁵⁵⁹ This is another sign that the Eblean onomastic tradition survived into the Mardīh IIB period. But, as noted by Archi, in the second millennium “*Damu* disappears completely.”⁵⁶⁰ *Ib-Damu*'s po-

552. TCL 21 (J. Lewy 1937) pl. 231 no. 14, pertaining to tablet no. 247B (pl. 204), which is the envelope of tablet no. 247A (pl. 203).

553. Collon acknowledged but did not cite it and apparently misunderstood the reference to the Eblean parallel (Collon 1988: 41). Nashef recorded its second line, with reference to the original publication, in *RGTC* 4:38, s.v. *Ebla*.

554. The restoration [*im*], for which no space is visible on the original drawing, was made by Veenhof upon collation. The engraver had difficulties fitting the legend into the short cartouche; he had to place the final *mu* of line 1 under the sign *da* and to use the small sign *lá* instead of the large sign *la*. However, already in the Ebla archives *lá* was sometimes used in toponyms: *Lá-sa-an/Lá-sa-nu^{ki}*, *Lá-da-ba^{ki}* (cf. *La-da-bí-um^{ki}*), *Šu-du-lu-lá^{ki}*; and in anthroponyms: *Iš-da-lá*, *Iš-lá-ku-tu* (cf. *Iš-la-ku-tu*), *Rí-lá-du*. *Ib* in line 1 and *eb* in line 2 are, of course, the same sign.

555. Published by Larsen and Møller 1991: photo, p. 251, fig. 13; drawing, p. 248, fig. 10; transliteration, p. 230. The inventory number of the tablet is kt c/k 650.

556. Kühne 1988: 314 n. 29. For the use of the secondhand seals at Kültepe, some of which went back to Early Dynastic III, Sargonic, and Ur III times, see Garelli 1963: 31–35; Teissier 1994: 46, 59–61. It is known that Ebleans frequented Kārum Kaniš at the time of its Level 2, during which time the seals discussed in this section were used, and may have brought them there for sale.

557. Reprinted in Part 1: 21, with references to pertinent texts and studies.

558. He is named in the unpublished texts TM.75.G.1418:rev. V:8 and (with the title en) TM.75.G.1438:obv. II:7, quoted in Archi (1984: 238, 247) and in ARET (4 17 §1) without title or city but, from his placement at the head of a list of the principal vassal rulers, he clearly was the king of Emar.

559. In texts TM.75.G.1643 (now MEE 7 14):obv. VII:7 and the unpublished TM.75.G.1895:obv. V:9 and TM.75.G.2352:obv. V:9, quoted in Archi 1984: 247.

560. Archi 1986: 216. In Syria, the only apparent exception is the mention of ^d*Da-mu-ia* ‘my god Damu’ by Rib-Addi, king of Byblos (EA 84:33), who was a learned antiquarian, well acquainted with

sition with regard to Mekum (for example, *ir* ‘servant’) is not stated, perhaps because of lack of space.

The other seal impression, known for an even longer time,⁵⁶¹ has a legend of four lines, to be read from the bottom. The first two lines, containing the owner’s name and patronymic, are difficult to decipher; Teissier read line 2 DUMU *hu-ur*; Tonietti read, tentatively, (1) *^dNi-du-hu-šu²-x/ša* (2) DUMU[?] *Hu-ur-da²-ba*.⁵⁶² The last two lines are read (3) *ša Me-ku-um* (4) *i-ra-mu-šu* ‘whom Mekum loves’, perhaps indicating a high official. As noted by Kühne, the appearance of *Me-KU-um* in status absolutus “excludes its analysis as the causative participle of the root QWM,”⁵⁶³ though he still adheres to the postulate that it was not a personal name but a title and refers to its bearer as *der Mekum*.

(d) The Bilingual Song of Manumission

I turn now to the fourth piece of testimony on Mekum, which, unlike the first three, is a long and complicated narrative in which *Mekum* appears not as a mere name but as a human being of flesh and blood, the king of Ebla, a city on which the action of the narrative is centered. This is a work written in Hurrian and supplied, for most of its extant parts, with a parallel Hittite translation, entitled in both versions *The Song of Manumission*. Most of the tablets on which it was inscribed were uncovered at Boğazköy in 1983; additional fragments came to light in 1985. The first reports on its contents were made by Otten,⁵⁶⁴ who then entrusted its study and publication to E. Neu. The hand copies of the pertinent tablets were published in 1992;⁵⁶⁵ Neu’s edition of the bilingual in transliteration and (where possible) translation, with detailed commentaries, appeared in 1996.⁵⁶⁶ The importance of the bilingual is threefold: in the first place, because of the presence of a close translation into the much better-known Hittite language, it greatly improved the understanding of Hurrian grammar and syntax and added new items to the field of Hurrian lexicology;⁵⁶⁷ second, one of its parts (the banquet of Allani) provided a new and interesting chapter of Hurrian mythological tales, and another (the parables) did the same for

the Old Akkadian royal tradition. Damu was an ancient Sumerian chthonic and fertility god. “Also identified with Damu in the liturgy [TCL 15 no. 18] is every single dead king of the Third Dynasty of Ur and many of those of the following dynasty of Isin,” Jacobsen 1970: 324–25; cf. Michalowski 1983: 242.

561. First published by Sayce 1910: pl. 1, no. II; most recently Teissier 1993: 604 no. 11; 1994: 233 no. 527 (drawing), 176 no. 527 (transliteration of lines 3–4 of the legend).

562. Teissier 1993: 610; Tonietti 1997: 230 n. 51.

563. Kühne 1998: 315.

564. Otten 1984a, 1984b, 1988 (delivered at the Ebla symposium, Heidelberg, November 4, 1986). For the find spot, see Neve 1984.

565. KBo 32 (by H. Otten and C. Rüster) nos. 10–104.

566. Neu 1996b. It was preceded by several articles, in which Neu (1988a; 1988b; 1993; and 1996a, delivered at the international colloquium on Mari, Ebla, and the Hurrians, Paris, May 1993) included information on the contents and character of the bilingual. Neu’s other publications on this epic, dealing mainly with questions of grammar, are listed in the bibliographies in Wilhelm 1992 and 1996, along with his own contributions.

567. A detailed study on the latter subject, with a glossary, was published by Catsanicos 1996.

Hurrian wisdom literature; and third, its final surviving part, if correctly understood, may shed unexpected light on Ebla in a critical moment of its history. It is the third aspect that will be investigated and discussed here.

Despite the composite genre of the epic, the central role of Ebla is announced at the very beginning. In the proem, the author declares that he will tell of Teššub, the great king of Kummi,⁵⁶⁸ the maiden Allani at the bolts of the earth, the maiden Išhara skilled in speech and renowned for wisdom, and (after the three deities), Pizikarra the Ninevite (*Ni-i-nu-pa-ap-ḫi*) who brought something to Ebla.⁵⁶⁹ Pizikarra's second mention, in the next line, is followed by *pa-ḫ[é-*, which Neu tentatively completed *pa-ḫ[é-e-ta* and, with the two place-names in the following line, rendered, "Pizikarra w[ill] destroy Nuḫašše and Ebla."⁵⁷⁰ It is known from the sequel, however, that it was Teššub himself who threatened utterly to destroy Ebla (and no doubt did it in the missing conclusion of the epic). Thus, Pizikarra remains in the role of Teššub's messenger, who carries the god's will to cities and kings, an early example of the institution of prophets (attached to temples or free lance), which is especially well attested at Mari of the age of archives⁵⁷¹ and in the Hebrew Bible.

Neu could not provide a continuous translation of the remaining, damaged lines of the column (which begin with *ṁPi-zi-kar-ra Ni-i-nu-pa-ap-ḫi*), but he noted that the appearance of *ḫu-ú-ši-ya*, from a root meaning 'to bind, to tie up', in lines 11 and 12 may indicate "that somebody bound Pizikarra, but probably in the sense of German *festnehmen* ['to arrest']."⁵⁷² However, it is more likely that this refers to the enslaved or imprisoned persons on whose behalf Pizikarra was sent to Ebla. The extant part of rev. IV, also left untranslated, consists of a conversation between Teššub and Išhara, in which Ebla is mentioned twice (lines 17' and 20'), followed, respectively, by *pa-a¹-[ḫu? . . .* and *pa-a-ḫu-ú-ma u-um-mi-in-na pa-a-ḫ[u? . . .* 'and let the lands be destroyed!'⁵⁷³ Thus the destruction of Ebla was already determined at the very beginning of the epic.

568. Kummi, or Kummiya, has long been known as the principal shrine city of Teššub, the Hurrian storm-god. This was recognized by the Assyrians and Urartians in the first millennium. It was located on the Greater Zab, a little south of the Iraqi-Turkish border. Its transference to the eastern Ḫabūr River, "roughly where Zakho is today," by Postgate (1973: 59) contradicts the clear and concordant Neo-Assyrian evidence on both Kummi (Kumme) and the eastern Ḫabūr area.

569. The Hurrian text is damaged in this place (Neu 1996b: 30; KBo 32 11 obv. 1:7–9), and no corresponding Hittite translation is extant for completing and comprehending the passage.

570. In a minuscule fragment of the Hittite version (Neu 1996b: 41, 501, text no. 32), which preserved only the left parts of six lines, the words (1') *kat-t[a . . .* (2') *A-NA LU[GAL . . .* 'down . . . to the king' are followed, after a dividing line, by (3') *nu ṁPi-z[i-kar-ra . . .* (4') *ḫar-ni-ik-ta[. . .* (5') *ḫu-u-ni-ik-ta x[. . .* (6') *pi-ra-an z[a . . .* 'And Piz[ikarra . . .] destroyed . . . smashed . . . before. . . . But, as shown by the vestiges of the first two lines, the following words are part of Pizikarra's message to the king (of Ebla).

571. The first Mari text of this kind, with G. Dossin's transliteration and translation, was published by Lods 1950. Of the subsequent literature on the subject I shall mention only the comprehensive survey by Dossin 1966.

572. Neu 1996b: 43.

573. Neu 1996b: 51.

The role of Išhara is unclear; she was perhaps considered the patron goddess of Ebla, who had to be forewarned about the imminent doom of her city.⁵⁷⁴ In two fragments, (nos. 37 and 67) Išhara appears, talking to Teššub. In the latter text, Teššub sends a god called Šuwaliyat in Hittite, corresponding to the Hurrian Tašmišu, Teššub's brother and assistant, to the "city of the throne" (a designation for Ebla).⁵⁷⁵ Neither of the two deities takes part in the subsequent action of the epic.

The purpose of Pizikarra's mission to Ebla is disclosed in the tablets which, in Neu's arrangement, are placed after the parables and the banquet in Teššub's honor, when he visited the abode of Allani, the goddess of the netherworld.⁵⁷⁶ Pizikarra came to Ebla with an order from Teššub demanding the immediate release of a particular category of slaves belonging to individual Ebleans, as well as a man called Purra, designated *a-as-sí-i-ri/a-sí-ri* 'captive, prisoner' (one of several Semitisms in the Hurrian version), perhaps more precisely 'prisoner of war'.⁵⁷⁷ If they were not released, Teššub would destroy Ebla.

Purra is described as lying in a prison in which someone (certainly it was not Pizikarra but was the king of Ebla who had captured him) "held Purra's death (or ruin) tied to a *kunkunuzi*-stone."⁵⁷⁸ The giant Ullikummi, sired by Kumarbi for the destruction of Teššub,⁵⁷⁹ was formed out of this stone, tentatively identified with basalt or diorite. In view of this, Neu noted: "It seems that something fateful for Purra was tied to the stone. One might think, in that matter, of a magic notion."⁵⁸⁰ But *kunkunuzi*, besides its mythical function, was also used, along with alabaster, lapis-lazuli, and metals, in the construction of temples.⁵⁸¹ A simpler explanation would be that Purra was tied, or rather chained, to a heavy piece of the stone, just as in modern times a cannonball was attached to the leg shackles of a convict. The words about

574. Išhara was widely worshiped in the Ebla kingdom, but her principal shrines were in the cities Mane, Zuramu, and Zidara (the epigraphic material has been collected in Archi 1993a). According to the texts, the capital city was in general almost devoid of temples. But one may suppose that offerings and pilgrimages were recorded only for temples outside the city of Ebla. A mixed Hurro-Akkadian omen text from thirteenth-century Emar, published in photograph and briefly quoted in Laroche (1982: 59–60), mentions *Eb-la-be* 'Iš-ha-ra' (line 10) 'Išhara of Ebla', duly noted by Neu 1996b: 38 n. 18. The epicletism may have originated much earlier.

575. Thus Neu 1996b: 244–45, following Güterbock 1961. The god's Hurrian name never appears in the epic.

576. Neu (1996b: 232–33 n. 12) convincingly refuted the assumption by Haas and Wegner (1991: 386) that Teššub perhaps "became the captive of the queen of the nether world and was afterward manumitted."

577. Neu (1996b: 400) considered it a loanword from Akkadian *asiru*; it is actually a common Semitic word.

578. KBo 32 10 (Hittite fragment); Neu 1996b: 456–57. The quoted passage is preceded (rev. III:2') by ^m*Pi-z[i-]*; perhaps Pizikarra visited or saw Purra in his confinement.

579. In the epic *Song of Ullikummi*, extant in the Hittite translation from Hurrian, published in Güterbock 1951–52. Neu (1996b: 461) quoted from the subsequently published KBo 26 65:II:12' that the *kunkunuzi*-being carried Death (or 'Destruction', *ag-ga-tar*) on his right shoulder.

580. Neu 1996b: 461.

581. See the foundation ritual in KBo 4 1 (CTH 413) obv. 33–39, discussed by Kammenhuber 1974: 170–71; full translation by Goetze, *ANET*: 356–57. The stone in question, whether basalt or diorite, was probably used for orthostats and statuary.

Purra's death's being tied to the *kunkunuzi*-stone mean that he was expected to remain chained to it until he died. But who was Purra? This is never spelled out in the epic but, from circumstantial data, principally the constant coupling of the demand for his liberation with the demand for the release of the people of Ikinkališ from slavery, Neu came to the supposition that Purra may have been the king of the city.⁵⁸² The prediction that Purra, after being freed, would feed nine kings⁵⁸³ also speaks for his royal status.

As for the persons of both sexes whose liberation at Ebla was ordained by Teššub, it was thought on the basis of the association of the Hurrian term *kirenzi* with Akkadian *andurāru* in Nuzi texts⁵⁸⁴ that the epic had in mind a general release, by decree, of indentured debtors.⁵⁸⁵ As late as 1993, Neu still adhered to this interpretation, even though by that time he knew that the demanded manumission concerned only the slaves who originated from Ikinkališ, and he even ascribed to Teššub an appeal to the Ebléans to imagine that he himself was in the same predicament and needed liberation.⁵⁸⁶ It has been known, however, since well before the discovery of the bilingual, that the term *andurāru* (Sumerian *ama-gi₄/ama-ar-gi₄*) had had several meanings: not only the release of indentured debtors but also the individual manumission of slaves in general (in Ur III and Old Babylonian periods), cancellation of debts, reduction of imposts, abolition of illegally imposed labor obligations, and similar measures of social character.⁵⁸⁷ After all, if Teššub's demand was motivated by compassion for people who had become slaves because of their poverty, why was their manumission limited to citizens of Ikinkališ? Perhaps these considerations and certainly Purra's epithet *asīri* '(war) captive' and references (in KBo 32 18:3', 6') to "army" and "bowstring" finally led Neu to ask: "May one consider

582. Neu 1996b: 400, 444. The passage about Purra in prison in the fragmentary KBo 32 10 is preceded by vestiges of a story about the devastation and destruction of the land of Lulluwa (in the Zagros) by Teššub. Was it adduced as a warning of what Teššub could do in his wrath?

583. KBo 32 19 obv. I:3–4 (Hurrian), rev. II:2–4 (Hittite). The subject of the nine kings (in two groups, one consisting of three kings, centered on Ikinkališ; the other of six kings, centered on Ebla) and the meaning of their feasting together will be considered on pp. 146–47 below.

584. At Nuzi, *kirenzi* appears only in HSS 19 118:17 (the word is not included in Laroche 1980), but as a chronological mark it takes the place of *šūdūtu* 'proclamation' and *andurāru*.

585. Suggested by G. Wilhelm, as acknowledged by Neu (1988a: 13–14).

586. Neu 1996a: 192 (delivered in 1993). No words to this effect are attributed to Teššub anywhere in the epic. There is only a passage (quoted in translation on the same page) from the speech of Zazalla, an opponent of the manumission. Zazalla declared his and his fellow-members of the Ebléan council of elders' readiness to assist Teššub if he happened to be in distress. By this he meant not only being without money and waiting for liberation but also being hungry, naked, and diseased. In each case the elders would make a contribution to Teššub of silver, grain, cloth, and oil, respectively, in quantities small even on a human scale—let alone on the scale of a god whose hypergigantic stature and appetite are described in the Banquet of Allani chapter. Neu (1998a: 17 n. 44) noted the similarity of the passage to humanitarian prescriptions in a Hittite text (Archi 1979b: 41–42) and an Old Babylonian poetic work (von Soden 1985: 63), both of them commonplace adages referring to ill persons. In the bilingual, this hypothetical humanization of the storm-god is underlined by the exclamation "god is man!" (once in the Hurrian column, twice in the Hittite).

587. The distinction between different meanings of *andurāru* is briefly stated at the end of the corresponding entry in CAD A/2 117 and examined in detail in Lemche 1979.

[these expressions] an indication that the manumissions dealt not with debt slaves but with prisoners of war?”⁵⁸⁸

This is a very attractive suggestion. The existence of a state of war between Ebla and Ikinkališ is corroborated, in my opinion, by the characterization of Purra in the great speech by the Eblean orator Zazalla: “We would save Teššub, (but) we shall not release by manumission the adversary who inflicted harm.”⁵⁸⁹ Meki, your heart will not rejoice! Firstly, your heart rejoices not, secondly, Purra’s (heart) rejoices not. And we shall not release the sons of Ikinkališ of our own good will.”⁵⁹⁰ The context makes clear that the adversary (not of Teššub but of Ebla) was Purra, who had inflicted harm on Ebla before he was captured, and one may infer that the Ebleans, for their part, invaded the territory of Ikinkališ, captured Purra, and seized a number of inhabitants—not just soldiers but also civilians (as shown by the presence of women among them)—deported them to Ebla, and distributed them as slaves to members of the upper class.

The sequence of the final part of the bilinguals on the extant tablets is not certain. The first of them is probably KBo 32 19 (with duplicates and parallels).⁵⁹¹ It begins in the middle of a speech that mentioned Teššub in third person and therefore was not pronounced by him but by his messenger, Pizikarra. The first lines contain the admonition:

And the sons of Ikinkališ release in good will! Release also Purra the prisoner who will regale nine kings.⁵⁹² In Ikinkališ of the throne, it (= the city) regaled three kings, in Ebla of the throne, it (= the city) regaled six kings.⁵⁹³ And how he (= Teššub⁵⁹⁴) stands before the tenth one, before you, Meki.

588. Neu 1996b: 375–76.

589. Neu added, in editorial parentheses, “his” and “him,” referring to Teššub. But these pronominal suffixes do not appear in the Hurrian original, and a single hidden relative suffix in the Hittite translation is questionable. In the first place, how, even in Hurrian fertile imagination, could a mortal human being (whom other human beings were able to capture and throw into prison) inflict harm on the god Teššub (and in the Hittite translation be his tormentor)? And in the second place, if Purra was an adversary of Teššub, why would Teššub insist on his liberation?

590. KBo 32 15 obv. I:18’–24’ (Hurrian), rev. II:18’–24’ (without the words about the sons of Ikinkališ).

591. The number of the tablet is broken off in its colophon.

592. ‘Will regale (lit., “feed”)’ translates *za-a-zu-lu-u-uš-te-ri*, a participle “to which probably the future meaning should be ascribed,” according to Neu 1996b: 400.

593. I differ from Neu in understanding sentence I:5–8. Proceeding from his assertion that only Ebla could be designated “the city of the throne” (1996b: 403), he provided for the sentence the convoluted translation “Ikinkališ supplied three kings at the throne, at Ebla at the throne it supplied six kings.” But Neu himself, as quoted above, recognized that Ikinkališ was a royal city, with Purra as its king; and KBo 32 20:obv. I (which twice mentions Purra) describes how three kings, obviously the same three who were regaled at Ikinkališ and who are here called by their names, were being seated on thrones. In the sentence in question, both in the Hurrian and the Hittite version, the two toponyms stand in the same grammatical case, which in the Hurrian text is the dative-locative, with the case ending *-wa_a* in ^{URU}*E-eb-la-wa_a* and *-ša* in *I-ki-in-kal-i-iš-ša*, in accordance with the rule that the case endings *-we* of genitive and *-wa* of dative lose their *w* if attached to final *š* (Speiser 1941 §81; cf. Goetze 1959 with numerous examples from Hurrian toponymy). Otten (1988: 292) translated the sentence (following the slightly more explicit but

This is followed by a long speech in which the speaker (Teššub) refers to himself in first person. However, the speech was, in all likelihood, not delivered by the god himself but by Pizikarra, who repeated verbatim what the god had ordered him to announce to Meki (whose royal dignity is described in the passage). But let us first examine the evidence of the quoted passage.

The phrase “to regale (a number of) kings” refers to the very ancient custom of accompanying the meetings of heads of state (and of gods in epic poems) and even sessions of local councils of elders with eating and drinking.⁵⁹⁵ We are dealing with two coalitions: one consisted of three kings (not counting Purra or his substitute) who came together at Ikinkališ; the other of six kings (not counting Meki) who came together at Ebla. Of the cities allied with Ebla, we know only of Nuḥaššeni (named in the proem), and we don’t know any of the names of their kings. Nor do we know which three cities were allied with Ikinkališ, but the names of their kings are given in KBo 32 20:obv. I.⁵⁹⁶ They are, in normalized form, Arib-Ibla, Paib-Ibla, and Eše-pabu, all three Hurrian (as is also Purra) and etymologically transparent.⁵⁹⁷

The scene of the three kings’ meeting and being seated on thrones (col. I) precedes Teššub’s intervention (col. IV), of which his speech to Meki (lines 15’–20’) is a duplicate of KBo 32 19:I:1–10. Some kind of connection probably existed between the two scenes, and anyway it is evident that the demands made to Ebla in Teššub’s name actually expressed the interests of the northern coalition. We can now understand the implication of the sentence “Release also Purra the prisoner who will regale nine kings”: it means that Purra, when freed, would arrange a peace conference between the kings of both coalitions—a more realistic incentive for Ebla to accede to the demands than divine promises and threats.

In the continuation of Teššub’s speech to Meki, the god promises fertility in Ebla’s fields and victories to its arms if it obeys his order; if it does not, he will come on the seventh day and destroy it as though it had never been inhabited. Next, such specific details of the threatened destruction follow that some students of the bilingual tried to deduce the time and circumstances of the event, which will be considered in the next section. Meki was willing to obey, but he could take no action without authorization by the council of elders. The extremely damaged first half of

grammatically identical Hittite version), “And Ikinkali gave in the city of the throne three kings to eat, while Ebla gave in the city of the throne six kings to eat.” And what sense does it make that the population of Ikinkališ entertained the three plus six kings, not in its own city, but in remote, hostile Ebla?

594. The name of the god is not mentioned here but is clearly implied in the following speech, and the divine determinative appears, before a gap, in the corresponding place in the Hittite version; hence, the explanatory insertion of (Teššub) in Neu’s translation.

595. There is no need to elaborate on the custom; this detail is mentioned or commented on in studies of the councils of elders in the ancient Near East, which will be discussed in part (e) of this section.

596. Only the Hurrian columns of the tablet (obv. I and rev. IV) are extant, which did not allow the editor to present a full translation; but there are enough intelligible words, analyzed and discussed by the editor in his commentary, to gain a general understanding of the tablet’s contents.

597. The meaning of the first two names, compounded with the toponym *Ibla* (variant of the usual *E-eb-la* in the bilingual, written *I-ib-la-* once in KBO 32 15:rev. IV:7), as given by Neu, is historically significant and will be discussed in section (e) below.

KBo 32 19:rev. III (Hittite has ^mM[e-ki at the beginning of line 1 and ^{LÚ.JMEŠŠ}SU-G[I (Sumerogram for ‘elders’) at the end, and again ^{LÚ.MEŠŠ}]U.G[I at the end of line 2. Then we see Meki repeating Teššub’s message verbatim to the council of elders. Its conclusion has not been preserved, but it must have included Meki’s appeal to fulfill the god’s demand.

Among the members of the council was a man named Zazalla, son of Wazanikar, described as a powerful orator, whose words nobody in the council could surpass. His speech is indeed a fine example of oratorial art:⁵⁹⁸ “Why do you speak such submissive words, Meki, star of Ebla?” he says to the king and, after a bizarre passage about his and his fellow-elders’ readiness to save Teššub from hypothetical distress,⁵⁹⁹ he declares that they could not manage without slaves as domestic servants, grinders of grain, drawers of water, and spinners of yarn. If Meki wants manumission, let him free his own slaves but not force it on the rest of the owners. He also affirms that they will not free the sons of Ikinkališ and Purra.⁶⁰⁰

Upon hearing this, Meki lamented, prostrated before Teššub (that is, his statue), and begged the god to listen to him: he was all in favor of manumission, but his city⁶⁰¹ and Zazalla did not grant it. Then, after a sentence in which Meki is referred to in the third person, intelligible in both versions but without visible connection with the preceding,⁶⁰² the Hurrian column ends with the colophon “Fifth tablet of the Manumission; not complete,” and the Hittite column, which carries four additional, badly damaged lines with an invocation to “the great king of Kummi,” breaks off. This is also the end of the epic as it has been recovered. Although the colophon of the “fifth tablet” points to its having had a sequel, no tablet or fragment can be identified as belonging to it. However, it certainly described the destruction of Ebla: first, because the nonfulfillment of Teššub’s threat would have been an impossible anticlimax; second, because all of the parables that preceded the narrative about Ebla and prepared the listener for the city’s predicament, deal with punishments for disobedience, arrogance, and ingratitude.

(e) The Song of Manumission and History

What, if any, is the historical core of the epic? As a general rule, stories about remote old heroes such as Ut-napištim, Etana, Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgameš are sheer mythological fiction and at most display a feature or two of the time of their

598. Zazalla’s speech has been pieced together from partially overlapping passages, in one or both languages, in tablets KBo 32 16, 15 (the longest), 17, 18.

599. Cited in n. 586 above.

600. Quoted on p. 145 and n. 590 above.

601. Here, as it often is in cuneiform texts, “city” is a synonym for the council of elders that represented it.

602. KBo 32 15:rev. IV:18–19 (Hurrian): “Meki has removed from Ebla [the offences/guils . . .]; *ibid.*, rev. III:18–10 (Hittite): “Meki has purified his city, Ebla, from offences/guils. In favor of the city he threw away the offences/guils.” Does Meki allude to some earlier ritual of purification performed by him?

composition.⁶⁰³ When it comes to legends of historical characters, primarily Sargon and Naram-Sin, the situation is more complicated. Much in them—omens, miracles, speeches, and divine interferences—is invented; as for the feats of earthy kings, often embellished and exaggerated in the legends, one has to compare them with the surviving inscriptions of the kings of Akkad and with available archaeological data. Thus, Sargon did not invade Buršahanda to help the oppressed Akkadian merchants, as described in “The King of Battle” epic.⁶⁰⁴ This description reflects the Old Assyrian commercial activity in Cappadocian cities. However, he did reach the Silver Mountains (that is, the Taurus).⁶⁰⁵ More examples of this kind could be adduced from cuneiform literary works about Sargon and, especially, Naram-Sin.

Turning to the Song of Manumission, we know that Ebla was not a mythical region like Aratta but a real city, that it was destroyed twice (about the end of the Ur III period and during the time of the wars of conquest by rulers of the Hittite Old Kingdom) and that its hapless king, Meki, was an actual, epigraphically attested ruler of Ebla, called Mekum in Sumerian and Akkadian. As for Ebla’s destruction by Teššub, it is not a fantasy but a literary convention that appears elsewhere and serves as a theological explanation of deeds performed by human beings. Illuminating in this respect is the Sumerian *Curse of Agade*,⁶⁰⁶ composed in the Ur III period (that is, close to the time of Ebla’s first destruction) and very popular in the Old Babylonian period. It begins: “When Enlil’s frown had slain Kish like the Bull of Heaven” (this refers to the destruction of Kiš by Lugalzagesi) “had slaughtered the house of the land of Uruk in the dust like a mighty bull” (this means the victory of Sargon over Lugalzagesi) “and then, to Sargon, king of Agade, Enlil, from south to north, had given sovereignty and kingship.”⁶⁰⁷

Another striking example, from a much later time but fully in the spirit of the Babylonian priestly tradition, is Esarhaddon’s version of the destruction of Babylon by his father, Sennacherib, in 689. While Sennacherib boastfully describes all of the atrocities perpetrated at his behest upon the city and its population,⁶⁰⁸ Esarhaddon (or the Babylonian priest who wrote it for him) mentions neither Sennacherib nor Assyrians in general but ascribes the horrible fate of Babylon to the wrath of Marduk, who

603. For instance, in the Sumerian “Gilgameš and the Land of the Living” the Cedar Land is located to the east of Mesopotamia (Hansman 1976), but in the Old Babylonian fragment of the Gilgameš Epic published by T. Bauer (1957), the Cedar Forest where Gilgameš and Enkidu came to slay ̒um-baba covers the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains, no doubt due to the alliance of Šamši-Adad I with the kingdom of Qatna and the dispatch of his troops to assist his ally, which led to the erection of his stele “on the shore of the Great Sea, in the land of *La-ab-a-an*^{ki}, the Lebanon” (KAH 1 2:IV:15 = RIMA 1:60, 84).

604. EA 359, published anew, with reference to other recovered fragments and secondary literature, by Rainey 1970.

605. Hirsch 1963: 38, text Sargon b 2 rev. 5:27–28 (Sum.), rev. 6:34–35 (Akk.) = Gelb and Kienast 1990: 163–67, text Sargon C 2.

606. Published in part by Güterbock 1934: 25–33; discussed (in 1939) by Jacobsen 1970: 187–92; published in full by Falkenstein 1965; translated by S. N. Kramer in *ANET* 646–51; and published anew by Cooper 1983.

607. As translated by J. Cooper.

608. *ARAB* 2: §340.

was angry at the Babylonians for their discord, rebelliousness, and spending of the treasures of the Esagila temple in payment for Elamite aid.⁶⁰⁹ The same convention was used by the contemporaries of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires, the biblical prophets: whenever they affirmed that Yahweh rose against such and such city, country, or people or destroy or slaughter it, they had in mind the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, or Persians as the perpetrators.

Students of the bilingual agree that it was composed in northern Syria, for it mentions Ebla and Nuḥašše (and, remember, prominently speaks of Ikinkališ). It not only mentions their names but displays a knowledge of realistic details about the conflict between Ikinkališ and Ebla, the attempt to open peace negotiations, the question of repatriating prisoners of war as the deadlock,⁶¹⁰ and the ensuing defeat and destruction of Ebla. It knows the actual name of the last Eblean king prior to this event, and the name of his opponent, Zazalla, appears in the anthroponymy of the Eblean archives as *Za-za-lum*⁶¹¹ but is not found among Syrian personal names from the second millennium. The name of Zazalla's father, ^m*Wa_a-a-za-ni-ga-ar-wa-aš* in the Hurrian version (with the suffix of ergative), ^m*Pa-az-z[a-ni-k]ar-ri-ma* in the Hittite (with the enclitic *-ma*), is not attested in the Ebla archives, but its components are.⁶¹²

These cases of onomastic continuity harmonize with the archaeological evidence that shows there was no break in material culture between Mardīḥ IIB1 (EB IVA) and Mardīḥ IIB2 (EB IVB).⁶¹³ But they are completely incongruous with placing the events described in the bilingual in the Middle Bronze Age ("Old Babylonian period"), preferably the latter part. In this case, the archaeological evidence points, in Matthiae's words, to "a clear break between the Mardikh IIB1–2 culture and that of Mardikh IIIA–B. The ceramic horizon radically changed and innovations of architectural technique are reflected in a transformation of the physiognomy of the

609. ARAB 2: §642 (repeated in §§649, 659B); Borger 1956: §11, episodes 1010.

610. In A.D. 408, when Alaric, king of the Goths, besieged Rome for the first time, he demanded all of the gold and silver in the city and the release of all Germanic slaves. In the Korean War, the negotiations to end the hostilities became protracted because of disagreement about the repatriation of captured Chinese soldiers.

611. This was brought to Neu's attention by Archi and was acknowledged in Neu 1996b: 480 n. 7. The bearer of the name *Za-za-lum* at Ebla (MEE 2 14:obv. II:5; ARET 8 523 §14; TM.75.G.1655:obv. IV:4, published by Pettinato 1979a: 154–55) was a high official, probably one of the lugalš.

612. The name *Wazanigar* can be analyzed *wazani-gar*, the first element of which appears in VE 409a, giš-maḥ = *wa-za-nu-um*, *wa-za-num*, *sa-gi-lum* 'scale', from the root WZN, Arabic *wazana* 'to weigh' (Krebernik 1983: no. 409a; Fronzaroli 1984: 152), from which are derived Arab. *mīzān*, Ugar. *mznm*, Heb. *mō'znayim*, Aram. *mōznāwān* 'scale'; Arab. *wazn*- 'weight, consideration, importance enjoyed by a man'; it is from the latter meaning that the following Eblean personal names are derived: *Wa-za-núm*, a Mariote merchant (TM.75.G.2241:III, cited by Archi 1985b: 76 no. 73; 1985c: 58), and *Wa-sa-núm* (ARET 1 8 §40 [in the text *-su-*, but *-sa-* in the index; and Krebernik 1988: 274]), *Wa-sa-na* (MEE 2 39:obv. 10:12, phonetically unambiguous). The second element, *gar/garru*, is well represented in Eblean anthroponymy, either by itself (*Ga-rí*, *Ga-rí-ù*, *Gàr-ra*, *Gàr-ra-nu*) or in composite names, in which it replaces a theophoric element: *Ir-ib-ga-ar* (cf. *Ìr-ib-Da-mu*), *I-rí-ik-gàr* (cf. *I-rí-ik-Da-mu*), *Šu-ra-gàr-ru₁₂*/KU-ra-gàr-ru₁₂ (cf. *Gú-ra-Da-mu*), *I-da-gàr-ru₁₂* (cf. *I-da-Ma-lik*). For names related to *Mekum* in texts of the Ebla archives, see n. 517 above.

613. See the statements by Matthiae and Mazzoni quoted in n. 108 above.

city.”⁶¹⁴ The destruction and the ensuing cultural break were not limited to Ebla but were experienced, about the same time, by several other places (now excavation sites) in northern Syria and Osrhoene (to be considered in the last part of this section).⁶¹⁵ It is improbable that genuine, detailed knowledge of features of the old, pre-catastrophe Ebla could have been acquired by outsiders centuries after the event.

Can one determine the period reflected in the bilingual’s description of the activity of the Eblean council of elders? Ebla had this institution in common with other states in the cuneiform cultural circle. Elders are mentioned in south Mesopotamian cities from the beginning of the Early Dynastic period on, and their important role in the guidance of the state has been extrapolated from epics about gods and ancient heroes and from omen texts.⁶¹⁶ In the Ebla archives, references to elders (AB×ÁŠ) are unusually numerous. Not only the king of Ebla but also every vassal king had his elders; so did the *badalum*-officials in five out of seven vassal kingdoms in which they are recorded.⁶¹⁷ Elders are also attested in thirteen nonroyal cities of Ebla.⁶¹⁸ Mariote elders are mentioned several times (mainly as taking a share of the installments of Ebla’s indemnity to Mari),⁶¹⁹ and the elders of Nagar, once.⁶²⁰ At Ebla itself, we hear of 35, 38, and 48 AB×ÁŠ;⁶²¹ there was a ‘house of elders’ (é AB×ÁŠ) serviced by 37 women.⁶²² Ten texts in ARET 9 list deliveries of grain (or flour or bread) and beer for EN (*wa*) AB×ÁŠ ‘the king (and) the elders’ for a day or a month.⁶²³ This means that the elders dined with the king on a regular basis (and probably, as was customary, discussed state affairs).

Other information on Eblean elders has been reported by Archi based on unpublished tablets.⁶²⁴ The elders were divided into two groups: AB×ÁŠ-AB×ÁŠ al₆-tuš gišŠUDUN and AB×ÁŠ níg-kaš₄. The normal meaning of ŠUDUN is ‘yoke’, but Fronzaroli established that, at Ebla, the ideogram signified ‘throne’.⁶²⁵ This allowed

614. Matthiae 1981: 112.

615. “What is certain is that in the decades around 2000 B.C. the centres of the Protosyrian culture were involved in a disastrous crisis which devastated the whole area, putting an end to its development with fire” (Matthiae 1981: 11); “The end of Syrian EB IV culture is much more radical, marking a total transformation” (Mazzoni 1985: 12).

616. Jacobsen 1970: 157–70 (originally published in 1943) and 132–56 (originally published in 1957); Diakonoff 1959: 127–33 (Russian text) and 297–98 (English summary); Klengel 1960; Bottéro 1975 and 1982; Finet 1982; Gelb 1984b.

617. At Gudadanum, Harran, Irritum, Sanapsugum, and Ursa’um; the other two are Abarsal and Ḫalsum. A *badalum* seems to have been the highest official of the city-state below the local king. The etymology of the term is uncertain.

618. Aḫbulu, Azan, Azigu, Darḫatu, DU^{ki}, Gilišu, Guduman, Liribzu, Lu’atum, Saḫu, Tisum, Zabū, and Zuḫasum. Aḫbulu (ARET 4 §§103–4) has been omitted in the list of cities with *abba* (AB×ÁŠ) in ARES 2 31.

619. References in ARES 2 364, section II NF; cf. Klengel 1989.

620. In the unpublished text TM.75.G.2280, cited in ARES 2 392, section II NF.

621. ARET 9 67:obv. V:9; 68 §§13 and 24, respectively.

622. ARET 9 43: rev. I:3.

623. ARET 9 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19, 27.

624. Archi 1988c: 136.

625. Fronzaroli (1992), on the basis of the placement of the sign among designations of pieces of furniture made of boxwood in the list of Sumerian words (MEE 3 44:obv. III:3), as well as in the bilingual

Archi, when he touched on the topic again,⁶²⁶ to render AB×ÁŠ a_l₆-tuš ^{giš}ŠUDUN ‘elders who sit near the throne’. Hence, we may interpret the designation of the other group, ‘traveling elders’, as elders residing in outlying cities of the kingdom who could be summoned to the capital for deliberation on issues of special importance. Indeed, we find on one of the tablets cited by Archi the entry 50 AB×ÁŠ-AB×ÁŠ me-se₁₁ uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} ‘50 me-se₁₁-elders of cities’.⁶²⁷ Elsewhere on the same tablets, there are 172 (or 173, 175, 185) AB×ÁŠ-AB×ÁŠ in SA-ZA_x^{ki} recorded, who were lodged in the administrative headquarters of the kingdom. This seems more like a national convention than a privy advisory council of the king.

But could the elders overrule the king’s decision? According to an apodosis in a Babylonian divinatory text, they could go even further: *šarram šibūt ālišu inas-saḥušu* ‘the elders of his city will remove the king’.⁶²⁸ To be sure, the councils of elders were deprived of their political role, and their capabilities were greatly reduced in the larger states of the Old Babylonian period.⁶²⁹ However, in the small kingdoms of Upper Mesopotamia the old conditions survived well into the reigns of Zimri-Lim of Mari (1711–1698) and Ḥammurapi of Babylon (1728–1686), and the relevant Mariote reports provide us with close parallels to the situation in Ebla as related in the Song of Manumission.

One of these reports (ARM 2 75) deals with the kingdom that comprised two neighboring cities, Qa’ūm (or Qā) and Isqā.⁶³⁰ An envoy of King Zimri-Lim got wind of the fact that the kingdom was about to switch its allegiance. He started by writing to Yamruš-II (who was the same as Yumraš-II, king of Isqā) and to the elders of Qa’ūm and Isqā. Whether he wrote one letter to the king and elders jointly or two separate letters—either way testifies to the elders’ being at least equal in power to the king. When he arrived at the place, “as one man, two hundred important men (*šābum qaqqadat*)⁶³¹ from Qa’ūm and Isqā were assembled” (but no word about the presence

vocabulary (VE 371), which agrees with the contexts of ^{giš}ŠUDUN (“uštīn”) in administrative texts and, more explicitly, with the king and the queen each sitting on ^{giš}ŠUDUN in texts on their enthronement, later published by the same scholar as ARET 11.

626. Archi 1993c: 469.

627. The office or occupation me-se₁₁ is mentioned several times in published Ebla texts. Its bearers, called me-se₁₁ é-gal ‘of the palace’, me-se₁₁ é-en ‘of the king’s house’, are associated with the king, Queen Dusigu, the vizier Ibbi-Zikir, and with the localities of Darḥatu, Kablul, and KUR^{ki}.

628. Quoted in CAD N/2 3 and by Bottéro (1975: 139), who commented: “As isolated as [this oracle] is . . . it is a datum of extreme importance and must be taken into account, unless one arrives to a different explanation—and, on my part, in all honesty, I do not see how. It would prove that the ‘Council of Elders,’ at least the one of the capital, could in certain cases exercise, beside the king, a real power, not only of suggestions . . . but of control, even of authority and constraint, and this even against the sovereign.”

629. More on the reduction of elders’ roles below.

630. In the editio princeps the first sign of the second toponym in lines 2’, 7’, and 10’ was read ^{uru}, which was, first, contrary to the scribal practice in the Mari texts; second, it created an unexplained duplication of the same toponym. This was repeated in the indexes of ARMT 15 and 16/1 and in quotations or paraphrases of the text in Klengel 1960: 365 and Kupper 1975: 171–72. But Durand (1987b: 228) ascertained, after collation, that the correct reading was ^{Is}¹-qa-a, ^{Is}¹-qé-e-em; besides, the name is attested elsewhere in Mari texts—for example, in ARMT 26/1 24:24.

631. On this expression (literally, ‘heads’), more or less a synonym of ‘elders’, see CAD Q 107.

of the king!), and the envoy spoke to them: “To what side are you turning? Right here, you had said, ‘We are servants of Zimri-Lim.’ You had said it! And now, taking a decision by yourselves, you are going to assist Ḥammurapi!”⁶³² The assembly’s answer has not been preserved, but it is clear that it was the plenary assembly of the kingdom’s elders that decided questions of foreign policy.

Also instructive are reports from the Mariote diplomat Ḥabdu-Malik, who was dispatched by King Zimri-Lim to arrange a peace treaty between the aforementioned Ḥammurapi of Kurda, and Atamrum, the king of Andarig, another major state in Upper Mesopotamia (ARMT 26/2 391–93). After obtaining Atamru’s agreement to the treaty, Ḥabdu-Malik departed for Kurda, carrying “Atamru’s gods,” so that Ḥammurapi could ratify the treaty by swearing “an oath by the gods” in front of them. However, the “elders of his country” (the representatives of the several cities of the kingdom) opposed the treaty, which did not contain a clause obliging Atamrum to free the cities he had conquered. Ḥammurapi was in no hurry to take the oath, and Ḥabdu-Malik wrote to Zimri-Lim: “Perhaps Ḥammurapi will not want to take the oath by the god, or the elders of his country will impose upon him (*i-da-an-ni-nu-šu-ma*)⁶³³ that he not take that oath by the god” (ARMT 26/2 393 obv. 7–9). In fact, Ḥammurapi did not conclude the peace treaty with Atamrum; nevertheless, he was not a weak ruler who could be manipulated by his advisers but an energetic, aggressive warrior.

These examples, to be sure, belong to the second millennium, but they are the latest manifestations of an ancient tradition. As mentioned above, in the Old Babylonian period the councils of elders lost their political role and their place at the side of the kings and were reduced to purely local functions—primarily as courts of law.⁶³⁴ In the kingdom of Mari, elders are attested in the district capitals of Sagarātum and Terqa and in the towns of Samānum, Tizraḥ, and Dūr-Yaḥdun-Lim on the Euphrates, but “their powers seem to have been reduced and their place to be quite modest.”⁶³⁵ In the city of Mari itself, their presence is not attested, and the city was placed under a special regime without any administrative autonomy.⁶³⁶ The texts of Alalah

632. Not the famous king of Babylon, as stated by Klengel (1960: 365) in his discussion of the text, but his contemporary and namesake, the well-attested king of Kurda, one of the five most influential states in Upper Mesopotamia.

633. This formation of the verb *danānu* ‘to become strong’, with a transitive meaning without *ana*, *eli*, or *ina muḥḥi* but with the pronominal suffix *-šu*, is rare in Akkadian; beside this and an identical occurrence in ARMT 26/2 391:16, it is found in a Middle Babylonian medical text (CT 23 46:III:29, quoted in CAD D 84): *amēlu šuātu muršu la tebû iṣbassu i-dan-nin-šû* ‘an incurable disease has seized that man and is overwhelming him’. In the context in question the verb has the implication not of ‘persuading’ or ‘convincing’ but of ‘prevailing’, ‘enforcing’.

634. Postgate 1992: 80–81; along with the royal courts, which became especially important after the middle of the reign of Ḥammurapi (Diakonoff 1959: 132); the elders were also responsible for maintaining law and order and collecting taxes for their community (Diakonoff 1959: 131).

635. Kupper 1982: 52–53.

636. Kupper 1985: 463–64. He noted: “The use of *argumentum e silentio* is, no doubt, always delicate, but one will observe that our documentation on Mari . . . is not poorer than the one we have on Terqa or on Sagarātum.” The term “Amorite epoch” in the title of Kupper’s quoted paper refers to the period of the reigns from Yaggid-Lim to Zimri-Lim, including the time of Šamši-Adad I and his son Yasmaḥ-Addu, all of whom were of Amorite descent.

Level VII, which cover the period from about 1650 to 1575, reflect similar conditions.⁶³⁷ Alalakh at this time was the seat of one of a number of inner vassal states, or appanages (another of which was Ebla), of the Kingdom of Yamhad with its capital at Halab. No elders are mentioned at Alalakh, not even as witnesses in judicial cases; this part was played by members of the royal dynasty, great land owners, and high officials. Elders are attested in a few towns of the appanage and the central royal domain, but only as men responsible for the delivery of impost in kind (a large quantity of oil from Murar, due by the ^{lu.meš}SU.GI₄.A, AT 322)⁶³⁸ or for receiving grain for their communities (AT 271). The latter record presents a curious feature: while the grain for the towns Ušuwa, Allişe, and Ašuni was given to their elders (two or three *ši-bu-ut*, mentioned by name), the grain for Hurzanu, Šanuka, and Ara'e was given to their 'people' (^{LU}meš). This distinction in the record represents a difference in real life: the last-mentioned three towns had no elders and were administered in some other way.

The conclusion from this survey is that the description of Ebla's elders on the eve of the city's destruction fits the end of the Mardih IIB2 period but is incompatible with the conditions obtaining in northern Syria toward the end of the Mardih IIIB period, during the last decade or two of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

An analysis of the Hurrian language in the bilingual leads to the same conclusion. According to Neu,⁶³⁹ it displays several features in common with the earliest known Hurrian text: the dedicatory inscription of Tiš-atal, king of Urkiš.⁶⁴⁰ The time of its composition can plausibly be placed between the end of the reign of Šar-kali-šarri and the beginning, or the early decades, of the Ur III Dynasty.⁶⁴¹ Diakonoff noted

637. The material on institutions of local administration according to the Alalakh VII tablets has been collected in Bunnens 1982: 118–24.

638. But in two other records of oil delivery from Murar, there is no reference to elders: in one (AT 320), it says simply, "brought up from Murar"; in the other (AT 321), the oil was brought up by a trading agent (*samallû*), who probably paid the treasury for it.

639. Neu 1988a: 7–9; 1988b: 96–97.

640. Engraved, in Old Akkadian script, on a small limestone tablet surmounted by a copper figurine of a roaring lion, with a duplicate of the inscription incised on the copper plate supporting the lion. It was purchased by the Louvre from a private dealer and was said to have come from 'Amūdah, which points to a provenance from the nearby Tell Mozān (cf. n. 175 above). It was published and discussed by Parrot and Nougayrol 1948; a large and beautiful photograph of the ensemble appears in Parrot 1961: 183. Another lion from Urkiš belongs to the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

641. It cannot be assigned to the middle of the Sargonic period, as surmised by Parrot (1961: 145; chronological chart, on which the lion of Urkiš is placed opposite the reign of Maništušu), for it is known from a Sargonic tablet from Tell Brak (Gadd 1940: text F.1153 = Loretz 1969b: pl. 35 no. 69:4) that Urkiš was a direct possession of Naram-Sin's empire, and from the tablets found at Tell Mozān (Milano 1991) that it continued so under Šar-kali-šarri; only after his death and the collapse of the Old Akkadian Empire did it become possible for Urkiš to have its own kings. Gelb (1956: 381) attributed Tiš-atal's inscription to "the late Sargonic or the early Ur III period"; Diakonoff 1967: 114: second half of the third millennium; 1981: 78, 79; ca. twenty-second century (middle chronology); Kammenhuber 1974: 163 "at the end of the Akkad period (ca. 2200)" (middle chronology). The attempt by Whiting (1976: 174–75) and Wilhelm (1982: 15–16; admitted by both authors to be tentative, and partially retracted by Wilhelm 1989: 11–12) to identify Tiš-atal of Urkiš with Tiš-atal of Nineveh (cf. p. 128 and n. 461 above) and with ^dDi¹-sa-a-tal (or AN-ki-sa-a-tal), king of Karaḥar in the high Zagros, which presupposes an enormous Hurrian Kingdom, is impossible not only for geographical but also for chronological reasons. Self-deification of

that “the short, most ancient Hurrian inscription from Urkiš differs rather strongly by its language [from the other Hurrian dialects], in some aspects coming close to the Uraṭṭian language.”⁶⁴² In a subsequent publication, Diakonoff expanded his understanding of Hurrian dialectology on the basis of the meticulous studies by M. L. Khačikjan.⁶⁴³ As summarized by Diakonoff, Khačikjan divided the Hurro-Uraṭṭian linguistic entity into seven units.⁶⁴⁴ They belong to “three clear-cut dialectal groups”: (1) Urkiš dialect and Uraṭṭian language; (2) all other Hurrian dialects (including the dialect of Mari and northeastern Babylonian texts), except (3), corresponding to no. 7 in n. 644 above. The affinity of the Hurrian dialect in the bilingual with the Urkiš dialect places it quite early in the history of the Hurrian language, which is compatible, without the need of additional hypotheses, with the archaeological and epigraphic data pointing to the composition of the Song of Manuission soon after the destruction of Ebla at the close of the Mardīḥ IIB2 period. However, the categorical but unproved assertion that the Song of Manuission had in mind the destruction of Ebla by the Hittites some 450 years later requires the postulate that the archaic Hurrian dialect in question continued to be spoken that late.⁶⁴⁵

At this point in the present study, some space must be devoted to the genesis of the axiom, almost a dogma, that the Ebla described in the bilingual was Old Babylonian, that its destruction was the one inflicted by the Hittites under Ḫattušiliš I (or Muršiliš I), and that the bilingual was composed soon after this event. It seems that the root of this attitude lies in the preliminary short reports by Otten after his first cursory acquaintance with the bilingual before he handed it over to Neu for a more thorough investigation. Otten thought (and Neu continued to think, as late as 1993) that the threat to destroy Ebla was issued by a king; and, since the threat included a demand for the manumission of slaves, it reminded him of the liberation of the slaves of Ḫaḫḫu by Ḫattušiliš I after he took and destroyed that city. Even though the publication of all of the tablets and fragments of the bilingual, in hand copies in KBo 32 (1990), showed that it contained not the slightest hint of Hittites; and even though the edition of the bilingual by Neu (1996b) brought him to the conclusion that Ebla was threatened with destruction not by a human king, Hittite or otherwise, but by a god; and even though Ḫattušiliš I’s so-called liberation of all of the slaves of the conquered Ḫaḫḫu (followed by their transfer to Anatolia as temple slaves of the sun-goddess of Arinna) has very little, if anything, in common with Teššub’s demand of the release of a specific group of slaves by their owners—despite all of these things,

petty Transtigridian rulers in imitation of the kings of the Ur III Empire (Sollberger 1980b; Al-Fouadi 1978) only became possible after the collapse of the empire.

642. Diakonoff 1967: 119; cf. p. 120 n. 11: “Apparently, one arrives at distinguishing three closely related Hurrian dialects: central-western (Mitanni, North Mesopotamia, and Syria), northern (Asia Minor), and eastern (Arrapha-Nuzi).” See also Diakonoff 1971: 110–11 n. 123.

643. Diakonoff 1981, in which he cites or summarizes three of Khačikjan’s studies; her subsequent publications on Hurrian linguistics are listed in Wilhelm 1996: 185.

644. I. Uraṭṭian. II. Dialect of the Urkiš inscription. III. Dialect of the texts from Mari and northeastern Babylonia. IV. Dialect of southeastern Asia Minor. V. Mitannian dialect. VI. Ugaritic Hurrian dialect. VII. Unidentified dialect (Hurrian text of the variant ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* from Ugarit).

645. See n. 648 below.

the belief that the Song of Manumission (and, concomitantly, the torso inscription of Ibbi-Lim) belonged to the Old Babylonian period remained unshaken for the scholars who wrote on the topic, except for Owen and Veenker (1987).

However, while the Ur III tablet published by Owen and Veenker provided the date of a year of Mekum's reign at Ebla (Year 7 of Amar-Sin = 1976, low chronology) that agreed, without the need of additional assumptions, with the rest of the pertinent documentation, the prevailing view did require supplementary undocumented assumptions, such as the assumption that *Mekum* was not a name but a title;⁶⁴⁶ that there were several Mekums on the throne of Ebla;⁶⁴⁷ that the Old Hurrian language of the bilingual continued to exist parallelly with the Mitannian dialect;⁶⁴⁸ and that there was a dynastic and onomastic continuity between Mardih IIB1 and Mardih IIIA.⁶⁴⁹

Some of the scholars dealing with the bilingual hoped to find independent proof that King Meki belonged to the Old Babylonian period. Here, too, the impetus was provided by Otten, who relied on a brief passage in one of Dossin's earliest reports of the newly discovered Mari texts.⁶⁵⁰ In an article devoted to Aplaḥanda, king of Carchemish, Dossin referred briefly to a letter to Yasmaḥ-Addu of Mari from Yatarum, his envoy to Aplaḥanda, which mentioned "another king named Mekim." Dossin did not give the name of this king's city⁶⁵¹ or the inventory number of the

646. Initiated by Heltzer and Gelb (p. 135 above), the general idea was taken up by Wilhelm, *RLA* 8.33 ("name or title"); 1992: 123 ("a title or a traditional name"); more categorically by Neu 1993: 349–50; 1996a: 191; Kühne 1998: 315, 316 n. 40; Charpin and Ziegler 1997: 247; Tonietti 1997: 230, 237–39 (a hypothetical chain of derivation: *malikum* → **malkum* → **melkum* → *mekum*). Tonietti fails to explain why the alleged title is preceded by the determinative of masculine personal name in the bilingual and in the appearances of the identical name of a ruler in another age and another part of northern Syria (on which, see just below, in the text); why it is genitive in the Ibbi-Lim inscription, though the name of its presumed bearer is nominative; and why the Drehem scribe of the Trout Tablet, who had already given the ruler of Ebla his official title, *ensí*, should identify him not by his personal name (as for all other vassal rulers of Ur III) but by his local title.

647. Wilhelm, *RLA* 8.33; Tonietti 1997: 240: "One can exclude with certitude that the different attestations of *meKum* cited here could refer to one and the same person. In particular, nothing proves that the *me-GU-um* of the Trout Tablet and the *me-KI-im* of the Yibbi-Lim inscription are the same and, hence, that the two texts must necessarily belong to the same epoch."

648. Wilhelm 1996: 182. He did not elaborate, but I would guess that his assumption derived from the belief that the Old Hurrian dialect had to be a living language about the time that the bilingual was written (ca. 1400) so that the Hittite scribe(s) could translate the Hurrian original. However, it must be remembered that in 1948, when the knowledge of Hurrian and its dialects was much less advanced than it is now, Jean Nougayrol was able to translate into French the newly discovered Old Hurrian inscription of Tiš-atal and that his translation does not differ in any significant aspect from the translation presented by Wilhelm (1982: 15 = 1989: 11).

649. Bonechi 1997: 36 and n. 5, and elsewhere in the article. Such continuity certainly existed between Mardih IIB1 and Mardih IIB2, but it did not extend into Mardih IIIA, which was separated from the preceding phase by a deep cultural, probably demographic, and certainly dynastic change. Bonechi follows the old assumption that Ibbi-Lim was a king, though he should have been more consistent and recognize that if the names of Ibbi-Lim, Igriš-Ḥib, and Ib-Damu survived from the time of the archives, so would the use of *lugal* as 'governor' and not 'king'.

650. Otten 1988: 292 n. 17, quoting Dossin 1938: 119 (= Dossin 1983: 297).

651. M. Birot, in his index of personal names (*ARM* 16/1 152), defined him simply as "a king of western Syria."

tablet, and it remained lost for 59 years. This circumstance allowed Otten to hypothesize that “if Mekin [of the Mari tablet] should be proven to be identical with Mēki of the bilingual, at least some details of the ‘historical’ background could be dated to the time of Šamši-Adad I.”⁶⁵² However, even at that time, the hypothesis was a dead-end alley. According to Otten himself and his followers, Meki ruled Ebla on the eve of its destruction by Hattušiliš I, whose reign was approximately 1575–1540, while Yasmaḥ-Addu governed Mari from about 1731 to 1711;⁶⁵³ and at that time there were no destructions at Ebla or any trace of Hittites in Syria. Then B. Lafont discovered and identified the tablet among the numerous unpublished ones (its inventory number was A.877), and it was published in 1997, in hand copy, transliteration, and translation, with commentary by D. Charpin and N. Ziegler.⁶⁵⁴ Besides correcting Dossin’s summary of its contents, the full publication of the tablet revealed that this Mekum⁶⁵⁵ was not the king of Ebla but of Apišal (*A-pí-ša-al*^{ki}, obv. 3), and thus he was merely a later namesake of the Eblean ruler. The appearance of the place-name Apišal in a Mari text is of great importance for the geography of Bronze Age Syria: up to this point, the name had appeared in six Alalah VII texts, which were 100 years more recent than this text,⁶⁵⁶ but its location was unknown, even approximately. Now tablet A.877 made clear that Apišal stood somewhere north of Carchemish,⁶⁵⁷ too distant from Ebla for a political link between the two.⁶⁵⁸

Neu thought that Teššub’s threat, “I will smash the outer wall like a goblet, I will trample the inner wall like a heap of refuse,”⁶⁵⁹ confirmed the assigning of Ebla in

652. This was repeated by Neu 1996a: 191; 1996b: 407, 481 n. 8; mentioned, uncommittedly, by Wilhelm, *RLA* 8.33; recalled by Charpin and Ziegler 1997: 247 n. 18.

653. Both sets of dates are according to low chronology. For the former, see Astour 1989a: 9–12; for the latter, see Veenhof 1985: 207, 214, here computed to low chronology.

654. Charpin and Ziegler 1997, with acknowledgment of Lafont’s discovery on p. 243 n. 4.

655. The name is written ^m*Me-ki-im* (obv. 8), ^m*Me-ki-[im]* (obv. 12), and ^m*Me-ki-im* (rev. 22’) when it is in oblique case but ^l*Me*¹-*ku[m]* in nominative.

656. Until recently, two mentions of Apišal were known in Alalah VII texts: AT 6:17, 26 and AT 409:45, both of them referring to its ruler, Nawar-atal, whose daughter was married to Ammitaqum, king of Alalah. Now the new catalog of Alalah VII place-names, Zeeb 1998: 646–47, No. 30, has added four more mentions of Apišal.

657. The reasoning is as follows: to the northwest of Carchemish lay the kingdom of Uršu (cf. Astour 1997b: 2–3); to the east lay Irridi (Irritum) and Admi; Apišal was farther from Mari than Carchemish, since Yatarum traveled there from Carchemish and returned to the same city; this leaves only the northern direction. Apišal was named for the homonymous Sumerian city in the region of Umma, so it is logical to suppose that it was one of the Sumerian settlements of the Uruk period on the Euphrates between its great bend and the Taurus, of which the mounds of Hassek, Samsat, and Kurban have been excavated.

658. Charpin and Ziegler 1997: 247 n. 18: “One might well seek to identify Mekum of the statue of Ibbiṭ-Lîm with Mekum of A.877, considering that at the apogee of his reign, under Yaḥdun-Lîm, Mekum could have reigned over Apišal and Ebla, even as, in the same region, Aniš-ḥurpi was king of Zarwar and of Ḥaššum . . . but there exists no reasonable indication in favor of this hypothesis.” Not only is this true but also the fact that Zarwar and Ḥaššum bordered on each other, as did Karana and Qatara in another dual kingdom of the same period, or Siyannu and Ušnatu in a similar formation of the Late Bronze Age, while Ebla was separated from Apišal by at least the royal domain of Yamḥad and the kingdoms of Biṭin and Carchemish.

659. KBo 32 19:obv. I:27–8 (Hurr.), obv. II:27–30 (Hitt.). The words in the Hurrian version are *a-ta-aš-ši* for ‘outer wall’ and *ki-ir-hé* for ‘inner wall’. They are not Hurrian but Semitic; already in the

the bilingual to the Old Babylonian epoch, for “as shown by the results of the excavations, the destruction of the great rampart occurred at the end of Mardih IIIB.”⁶⁶⁰ The excavations show nothing of the kind, for the great earth rampart around the lower town of Ebla needed no digging up: it still stands where it was 4000 years ago, as every visitor to Tell Mardih knows. Nor was it destroyed “at the end of Mardih IIIB” or at any other time, for to do so without excavators, bulldozers, or dump trucks would have required using the same tools as were used for its construction: spade and carrying basket.

Furthermore, since the author of the Song of Manumission was quite skilled and realistic in his choice of similes, the comparison of the destruction of the outer wall to smashing a goblet fits the breaking of a stone wall by the blows of a battering ram. It does not fit an earthen rampart, a system of defense that began to be used all over the Near East in the Middle Bronze Age precisely in order to eliminate the action of battering rams. The rampart of Ebla was erected very soon after the destruction of the Mardih IIB2 city,⁶⁶¹ but, as emphatically stated by Matthiae, “Previously, though we have as yet no direct evidence, the city almost certainly had a surrounding wall with salient turrets at intervals as we know to have been the case with some minor centres of the region, like Tell Munbatah and Tell Sabha.”⁶⁶² And in another place, “It is thus possible that the line of extensive fortifications of Middle Bronze I conceals the structures . . . of the perimeter walls of Mardikh IIB1, which may have followed a very similar line.”⁶⁶³

This is not mere speculation. An imperial capital, such as Ebla was in Early Bronze IVA, could not have left its lower city undefended. It must have followed the general pattern of defenses of the epoch: a double ring of fortifications; and it could afford to have both the inner and the outer walls built of stone. The outer wall is not concealed underneath the earthen rampart; it was dismantled prior to the erection of the rampart, and its dressed stones were reused for the revetment of the lower part of its external face, of which a remainder has survived at one point.⁶⁶⁴ It is this Early Bronze IVA–B stone wall that Teššub threatened to smash like a goblet, and one may assume that during the siege of Ebla a breach was made in the wall that was wide enough to allow the besiegers to irrupt into the city.⁶⁶⁵

Ebla tablets there frequently appeared a city called *A-da-áški*; the use of these terms at Mari and their respective meanings were expounded by Dossin 1972. *A-da-šu* is listed in Malku I:201 as a synonym of *a-lum* ‘town’ (Kilmer 1963: 428).

660. Neu 1996a: 192. But compare Neu 1996b: 489: the narrative of the bilingual “could by all means be understood as an etiological representation of the downfall of the Old Babylonian Ebla after 1800 B.C.”; however, the end of Mardih IIIB is dated by Matthiae (1981: 113) at “around 1650 or 1600 B.C.,” middle chronology.

661. A trial trench into the rampart showed that its core contained “ash-packed archaeological debris and ceramic material, almost exclusively of Early Bronze IVA–B, with a wide predominance of the Mardikh IIIB2 phase” (Matthiae 1981: 118).

662. Matthiae 1981: 112; 1989a: 133.

663. Matthiae 1981: 53.

664. Matthiae 1981: 118. Dressed stones were expensive and frequently reused throughout history.

665. The comparison of the inner wall (*ki-ir-ḫé*) with a heap of refuse is also quite apt. Here *kirḫe* designates not only the wall but also the acropolis mound inside it, just as *Qrḫh* in the Mesha Inscription,

The same simile appears in the next, very difficult, sentence of Teššub's declaration:⁶⁶⁶ "In the middle of the market, I will crush *du-ú-ru-uh-ḫi* like a goblet, its *ú-úr-ru-ki* I will take with me." Unfortunately, the Hittite equivalents of the two Hurrian words have not been preserved. Elsewhere in Hurrian, *turuḫḫi* means 'male, masculine'. Proceeding from it, Otten understood its use in the quoted passage as 'menfolk' and translated, "In the middle of the market, I will crush the menfolk like a goblet."⁶⁶⁷ Massacres of captured men were common in the Early Dynastic and parts of the Sargonic period (especially under Rimuš),⁶⁶⁸ but under the Third Dynasty of Ur war prisoners were enslaved⁶⁶⁹ (such as were the captives of Ikinkal at Ebla, according to the bilingual). However, the simile "crushing like a goblet" could not be applied to human beings but only to solid objects that could be broken into pieces.

Neu advanced an alternative interpretation, deriving *turuḫḫi* from *tūri* 'below, lower', thus 'underground foundation/building'.⁶⁷⁰ But a construction below ground level cannot be crushed; it can only be painstakingly extracted stone by stone, something that was seldom done. It is more likely that the construction in question was the building called the *bīt maḫīri*, which housed the market administration headed by the *rabi maḫīri(m)* and served as a storage warehouse for individual merchants and a deposit place for their silver.⁶⁷¹ This agrees with Neu's tentative interpretation *ad sensum* of 'its *ú-úr-ru-ki*' as 'its treasure(s), riches'.⁶⁷² In this understanding, the author of the Song made Teššub act as a human conqueror (modeled on what actually happened during the sack of Ebla) rather than as a god.

The last action ascribed to Teššub in the extant text of the bilingual⁶⁷³ is stated, in a rather elliptical style, as follows: "The *ḫu-u-um-ni* of the upper city⁶⁷⁴ (I will bring)⁶⁷⁵ to the lower city; the *ḫu-u-um-ni* of the lower city (I will throw)⁶⁷⁶ into the

line 3, was the name of the citadel of Dibon. For the evidence on battering rams at Ebla, see Steinkeller 1987a.

666. KBo 32 19:obv. I:32, 35 (Hurr.); obv. II:32–35 (Hitt., incompletely preserved). The word for 'market' is *ma-a-ḫi-ir-ri*, borrowed from Akk. *maḫīru*; compare Ugar. *mḫr* (KTU 1.96:10, 11).

667. Otten 1988: 292 and n. 15.

668. Diakonoff 1983: 186, 188, 243–44.

669. Diakonoff 1983: 270.

670. Neu 1993: 352 and n. 82; 1996b: 426.

671. Garelli 1964:66: IV.172 (MAH 19602); 1963: 217 and n. 8; CAD M/1 97–98, with a remark at the entry *bīt maḫīri*. The function of the Old Assyrian *bīt maḫīri* was similar to the better-known *bīt kāri(m)*, except that it was under the jurisdiction of the local ruler rather than being part of the autonomous Assyrian commercial network. The very frequent attestations in the Ebla archives of merchants designated *lú kar* 'man of the *kārum*' and originating from a number of cities points to some kind of commercial organization earlier than the Old Assyrian period.

672. Neu 1996b: 427.

673. KBo 32 19:obv. I:36–39 (Hurr.), obv. II:38–42 (Hitt.).

674. Here *kirḫi* stands for the area within the inner wall, and *atašši* for the area within the outer wall—in other words, the upper and the lower city, respectively, as rendered by Neu 1996a: 192.

675. The verb was omitted in the Hurrian version.

676. The verb was omitted in the Hurrian version.

river, that of the upper city I will *strew*⁶⁷⁷ on the lower city.” The Hittite counterpart of *hūmni* is *ḥašša-n* (accusative) ‘hearth, fireplace’, which was retained by Neu as the translation for the Hurrian term, with a remark in the commentary⁶⁷⁸ that in the cult the word could also mean ‘fire-altar’. We may certainly assume that *hūmni* was an implement for some kind of burning, but a fireplace made of stone or brick or an altar of the same material could hardly be carried down to the lower city or from the lower city to a river; we are evidently dealing with a portable object. Neu himself admitted that “the known occurrences of the Hurrian word *hūmni/e* outside of the bilingual can hardly point to the meaning ‘hearth/fireplace’; cf. *ta-še-ni ḥu-u-um-ni* . . . (*hūmni* as a gift? . . .) . . . ; *ḥu-u-um-ni uš-ḥu-nu*[. . . ‘a *ḥ.* with silver . . .’]”⁶⁷⁹ But these characteristics of a *hūmni* perfectly describe a censer or incense burner, which was a cultic utensil that was widely used in the ancient Near East. Its Sumerian designation was NÍG.NA,⁶⁸⁰ rendered by the derivative *nignakku* in Babylonian and by *šēhtu* in Assyrian. It was a pot or bowl, used as a brazier, and stood on a tall pedestal but was also portable and was made predominantly of metal: sometimes of bronze but more often of silver or gold.⁶⁸¹

Censers were principally used for purification, and the belief in their assumed beneficial power led in some places to their divinization. Two identical Ugaritic lists of deities include, toward the end, the entry *uḫt*.⁶⁸² Its essence was disclosed by the syllabic version of the list,⁶⁸³ in which its counterpart was ^dduḡBUR.ZI.MÍG.NA.⁶⁸⁴ As recognized by Nougayrol, “the corresponding Ugaritic term *uḫt* cannot be separated from *šēhtu*, the Assyrian equivalent of NÍG.NA.”⁶⁸⁵ In an alphabetic Hurrian sacrificial list, the names of gods are followed by divinized objects, *aḡršḫnd* ‘to the censer’ and *ḥbršḫnd* ‘to the brazier’.⁶⁸⁶

677. Tentatively translated *schüt[ten]* by Neu (1996b: 384–85)—that is, ‘to pour, spill powdery or granulated matter’.

678. Neu 1996b: 429.

679. Neu 1996b: 429 n. 7; in this quotation the references have been omitted. The word *hūmni* has not been included in the glossary by Laroche (1980) or in the list of vocables omitted in that glossary, as compiled by Haas (1982: 603–5).

680. Consists of *níg* ‘thing’, used for formation of abstract or derivative nouns, and *na* = Akk. *qutrīnu* ‘incense, smoke’.

681. In the list of *nignakku* mentioned with their material (CAD N 2:216), nine or more are made of gold, five of silver, three of bronze, and one or two of clay. Among the numerous occurrences of *šēhtu* listed in CAD S 2:264–66, only two mention their material: one was of gold, the other of bronze. In one case the *nignakku* was made of twenty, in another of thirty minas of gold. Utensils this expensive were in all likelihood donated to temples by kings, which would explain the ‘*hūmni* as a gift’, quoted by Neu.

682. The first, incompletely preserved, copy was published by Virolleaud 1929: pl. 70 no. 17 = UT 17 = KTU 1.47; the second, well preserved, copy, RS 24.264+24.280, by Herdner 1978: 1–3 = KTU 1.118. *Uḫt* is used in KTU 1.47:31 and in KTU 1.118:30.

683. RS 20.24, published by Nougayrol (1968: 44–45) and compared, line by line, with the earlier of the two alphabetic versions, in which it helps to restore the missing entries.

684. RS 20.24:30. Its first part, ^{duḡ}BUR.ZI, Akk. *pursītu*, is translated ‘votive vessel’ by Labat (*Manuel* no. 349) and ‘sacrificial bowl’ in *AHW* 881.

685. Nougayrol 1968: 58.

686. RS 24.274:14, 15, Laroche 1968b: 504–5; for the syllabic forms, *aḡrušḫi* and *ḥubrušḫi*, respectively, which often go together, and their meanings, see Laroche 1968b: 506–7 and 1980: 48 and 109.

Closely related to the *nignakku/šēhtu* was the *kinūnu* (ideogram KI.NE) ‘brazier’,⁶⁸⁷ also called a *garakku*. The functions of the censer and the brazier and the ways they were looked upon were largely identical. The same kinds of fragrant wood (primarily cedar) were burned in them;⁶⁸⁸ the *kinūnu* could be divinized;⁶⁸⁹ *kinūnu* stood in front of temples and were used in rituals. A ritual performed with these utensils gave the name *kinūnu* to the festival and the month in which it took place. The ritual was performed near a river, as we know from the entries gú.KI.NE = *a-a[h . . .]*, gú.KI.NE.ra = *a-aḥ k[i-nu-ni]* ‘*kinūnu*-bank’.⁶⁹⁰ In a medical text, a *kinūnu* is thrown into a river as a magical act. But the ritual closest to our topic was the ceremony with a brazier (here called *garakku*) during and after an eclipse.⁶⁹¹ It was placed in the gate of the temple, filled up with cedar and other wood, ignited by the *ērib-bīti*-priest at the beginning of the eclipse, and kept burning until it ended. Then the priest removed the brazier along with its ashes and threw them into the river. It was an apotropaic and cathartic procedure aimed at averting the ill portended by the eclipse. The act attributed to Teššub must be assumed to have been performed by the actual conquerors and destroyers of Ebla, perhaps in order to protect themselves from the hostile miasma that might have been thought to hover over the ruined city.⁶⁹²

But who were these conquerors and destroyers? Of course they could not be the Hittites, of whom there is no hint in the bilingual and who did not appear in Syria before about 1575. Matthiae was of the opinion that, “though it is a pure supposition, it seems probable that the origin of the collapse which overwhelmed the Late Proto-syrian culture was in the disorders created by Amorites in the Protosyrian social texture.”⁶⁹³ The Amorites were already mentioned as such in the texts of the Mardikh

As for the divine name *Ḫmn* in alphabetic Hurrian texts (read *Ḫaman* according to theophoric names in Ugaritic syllabic texts and in Nuzi texts) and the noun *hmn* in Ugaritic ritual texts published by Herdner 1978 and Bordreuil and Caquot 1979, the former probably has and the latter certainly has nothing to do with an incense burner (cf. also Xella 1981: 45–46). ⁴*Ḫu-u-um-mu-ni-iš* in KUB 17 20:II:1, a ritual from the strongly Hurrianized Kizzuwadna, *might* be related to *ḫum(u)ni* but, as noted by Laroche (1968b: 525 n. 3), “this is a practically unknown divine character.”

687. Ass. *kanūnu*; whence Aram. *kānōnā* and Arab. *kānūnah* ‘portable brazier’.

688. We are dealing with a time before the opening of the frankincense road from South Arabia.

689. KI.NE *mār Ea* ‘brazier, child of Ea’; *kinūnu* in theophoric personal names such as *İR-ki-nu-ni* ‘servant of *k*’, *Šī-il-ki-nu-ni* ‘protection of *k*’ (references to *kinūnu* can be found in CAD K s.v.).

690. Kagal I: 369–70, quoted in CAD K 393, s.v. *kinūnu*, lexical part.

691. Published by Clay 1927: text 4.

692. Did Ebla have a river? Neu (1996a: 192) stated: “Even though Ebla is not on the bank of a river, the text in question says . . . that Teššub, in his devastating rage, has the intention to throw the fireplace or the kiln into the river”—in other words, that this detail is fictitious. To be sure, Tell Mardikh does not sit directly on a river (neither do numerous Bronze Age mounds with respect to the Orontes, Karasu, and Euphrates Rivers), but at the distance of 3.7 km from the southeastern gate of the lower city the Wādī el-Ārmās passes (called Wādī Lūf on its lower course) which, according to Sweet (1960: 10), “in the late winter of 1953–54, flooded several times and temporarily cut off travel north and westward.” The stream was close enough to Ebla to carry a brazier to it, and it had, at least in winter, enough water to cover the brazier.

693. “Protosyrian” is Matthiae’s appellation for the Syrian culture in the Early Bronze IV period.

IIB1 State archives.”⁶⁹⁴ He then cited the role of the Amorites in weakening the Ur III Empire and “hazard[ed] a supposition that even though other forces, as happened in Ur, may have occasioned the actual destruction of Ebla, it was the upheavals provoked by the Amorites which started the internal crisis,” but, on the other hand, “it is also probable that . . . in Ebla too the Amorites played a leading part in the reconstruction and were the creators [of] the Old Syrian culture.”⁶⁹⁵ Matthiae applied to Ebla the once-popular historical reconstruction that has been well characterized by Kamp and Yoffee: “Appeal to the ‘Amorite hypothesis’—waves of nomadic foreigners who destroyed cities before gradually becoming more civilized—is both inappropriate theoretically and ill-founded on Mesopotamian analogies.”⁶⁹⁶ But then Matthiae postulated some obscure “other forces” that may have destroyed Ebla, so the problem remained unsettled.

The Hurro-Hittite bilingual clearly ascribes the destruction of Ebla to Hurrians. All of the names of Ebla’s adversaries—Purra, Pizikarra, Arib-Ibla, Paib-Ibla, and Eše-pabu—are Hurrian. The Hurrians moved from Transtigris to north Mesopotamia and from north Mesopotamia to northern Syria, as evidenced by the role of cities in these regions as divine residences or by deified avatars of patron deities revered by the Hurrians in northern Syria and Anatolia. The earliest use of a Hurrian personal name in north Mesopotamia appears in the date formula “The year Naram-Sin was victorious in his Subartu campaign at Azuḫinum and captured *Da-ḫi-ša-ti-li*.”⁶⁹⁷ The name Azuḫinum is also known from a list of conquered cities in Subartu⁶⁹⁸ and in the fragment of an itinerary,⁶⁹⁹ both plausibly attributed to Naram-Sin; from an Old Assyrian itinerary text;⁷⁰⁰ a Karanā (Tell ar-Rimāḥ) tablet;⁷⁰¹ and from numerous references in the Mari archives (during the time of the Mari tablets, it was a minor city-state).⁷⁰²

In view of the importance attached to the defeat of Taḫiš-atili, it seems likely that Azuḫinum was only the site of a battle on the approaches to the much more significant Nagar and that Taḫiš-atili was its king before Naram-Sin conquered the city and

694. A different interpretation of the textual mentions in question was presented in Part 1: 54–56.

695. Matthiae 1981: 212–13. On Ebla and the Amorites see Buccellati 1992.

696. Kamp and Yoffee 1980. Their article, devoted to the broad theme of ethnicity in ancient western Asia during the second millennium, deals only with the Amorites and does not contain a single word about the Hurrians, a self-conscious ethnic group that played a major role in the history of the region at that time. An examination of the “Amorite hypothesis” cannot be given in the framework of this study; it has been criticized and more or less limited or rejected by, int. al., Liverani 1970; de Maigret 1974: 269–70; Dever 1980; Mazzoni 1985: 12, 16 n. 11.

697. Foster 1982a: 22–24, text AIA 8:III:7’–IV:4. The name consists of the Hurrian onomastic element *teḫeš* (NPN 264) and a dialectal or archaic variant of *atal* (NPN 207). Cf. W. Lambert 1983.

698. Published from two fragmented Old Babylonian copies by Michalowski 1986a; the entry in question is in tablet B:IV’:8. The publisher was inclined to identify Azuḫinum with a homonymous city in Transtigris; but see pp. 95–98 above.

699. Published by Foster (1992) from a fragment of a Sargonic inscription on stone.

700. CCT 1 26b:2 (RGTC 4:131–32), spelled *Ú-zu-ḫi-ni-im*.

701. OBTR 145:9–10 (a place from where grain was carried to Karanā).

702. References in ARMT 16/1 7 and in indexes of place-names in ARM(T) 24–28.

built his own palace there.⁷⁰³ A seal imprint from Tell Brak⁷⁰⁴ bears the name *Tal-pu-za-ti-li* ^dUTU *ma-ti Na-I gâr*^{ki1} DUMU [x-x]-[x] ‘Talpuš-atili, the sun of the land of Nagar, son of . . .’.⁷⁰⁵ Then we have the Hurrian names in the inscriptions of Urkiš: Tupkiš who, on his seal, called himself by the title *endan* (same as used by another king of Urkiš, Tiš-atal) and the royal nurse Zamena;⁷⁰⁶ Ari-šen son of Sadar-mat, king of Urkiš and Nawar, and his scribe Saum-šen;⁷⁰⁷ and Tiš-atal, whose dedicatory inscription has been mentioned earlier in this section. The toponym *Azuḫinum* is an Akkadianization in *-um* of a Hurrian construction with the formatives *-ḫi-ni*.

Two other early Hurrian place-names appear in a Sargonic text from Tell Brak that lists a number of towns in the Ḫabūr Triangle.⁷⁰⁸ They are *Ḫal-ḫa-wi-iš*^{ki1}, which derives from Hurrian *ḫalaḫwu* (*ḫawalḫu*, *ḫalwaḫu*) ‘a field surrounded by a stone wall’ and *A-ša-am-ḫul*^{ki}, both elements of which are found in Hurrian onomastics.⁷⁰⁹ I have cited only the Hurrian names in north Mesopotamia that are attested prior to Ur III.

One may conclude that the Hurrian intrusion into north Mesopotamia began a generation or more before the accession of Naram-Sin, perhaps even in the latter years of Sargon’s reign. The Hurrians came in sufficient numbers to take over three major urban sites in the Ḫabūr Triangle and gave Hurrian names to at least two lesser sites (there may have been other places affected by their migration, but we have no documentation concerning them).⁷¹⁰ The Hurrian movement was probably facilitated by Sargon’s destruction of Nagar, which left a power vacuum in the Ḫabūr Tri-

703. It is assumed here that Nagar is Tell Brak (cf. nn. 89 and 236 above) and that the name of Azuḫinum survived as *Sihinnus* (*Sichinus* in the Ravenna Geographer 80:19) in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a station on the route from Chanmaudi (a crippled spelling of Amudis, now ‘Amūdah) to Lacus Beberaci (Lake Ḫātūniyeh), which puts it at 8 km south of Tell Brak. At this point the map *Deir ez Zor* 1:500,000 shows a mound called Reḡm Šleibi (West), which corresponds to the unnamed site defined as an “ancient walled city” on the map in Poidebard 1930. It is located well north of the 200 mm isohyet in a zone where the soil can produce good crops of barley (Wirth 1971: 92). The proposed location of Azuḫinum agrees with the data of Mari texts concerning its relative position in relation to other cities in the region.

704. This Tell Brak seal imprint is located in the Museum of Aleppo. It was discovered in the late or post-Akkadian level of Tell Brak and published by Mallowan (1947: pl. 24:1), but its inscription was not published separately and was not investigated until its republication and study by Matthews and Eidem (1993).

705. Matthews and Eidem (1993: 202), with *talpuš* explained as being derived from Hurrian *talmi* ‘great’.

706. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1996. In a tablet from an earlier level (time of Šar-kali-šarri), published by Milano (1991), one finds the Hurrian personal names *Ú-[n]a-ap-šè-ni* and *Šè-ni-za-sa-am*.

707. In the so-called “Samarra tablet,” published by Thureau-Dangin (1912; cf. n. 174 above). Gelb (1944: 56) analyzed all three names as Hurrian and compared them with the Nuzi anthroponymy.

708. Gadd 1940: pl. 5, text F.1159:obv. 4, and pl. 61.

709. For the former: Laroche 1980: 99; *CAD* Ḫ 57; for the latter: Laroche 1980: 57–58, 112–13; *NPN* 206, 217. The ending *-iš* in *Ḫalḫawiš* is either an abbreviated Hurrian formative *-š(š)e*, or more likely, the case ending of terminative-adverbial (*GAG* §67) or dative-ablative (Gelb 1961: 142–43; 1977: 23, §7.10.3; 1981:69), frequent in Old Akkadian onomastica and in Eblaic toponymy (also attested in later Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Palestinian toponymies).

710. Not all place-names listed in Naram-Sin’s inscription published by Michalowski (1986a) are Hurrian, and those that can be classified as Hurrian may have belonged to the areas north of Mesopotamia.

angle,⁷¹¹ and the preoccupation of Rimuš, Manišusu, and Naram-Sin (in the early years of his reign) with suppressing revolts in the empire's heartland and wars in Elam and on the Persian Gulf. Conquered by Naram-Sin, the cities of north Mesopotamia regained their independence in the Gutian period. The Euphrates was not a natural obstacle and never hampered the movements of armies across it in either direction. Here too, one may suppose, the disintegration of the Ebla Empire, especially in the north, helped the Hurrians to establish themselves in that area. The bilingual provides us with the terminus ad quem of this event or process; it shows kings with Hurrian names firmly entrenched in at least four cities of the far north of Syria and ready for a military expansion to the south of it. Two of these names shed light on the history of northern Syria and especially of Ebla in a more specific way.

As noted above (p. 146), the names of the three kings assembled at Ikinkališ are Arib-Ibla, Paib-Ibla, and Eše-pabu.⁷¹² In the last one, only the first element, *eše* 'sky', is interpretable.⁷¹³ But it is different with the other two royal names: Neu has explained them as *Ar=i=b=Ibla* 'who gave Ebla' and *Pa=i=b=Ibla* 'who built Ebla?'⁷¹⁴ and remarked, "Whether this naming had a historical background cannot be deduced from the bilingual."⁷¹⁵ However, I believe that it can be done. The names speak for themselves. In order to give away Ebla, one must first hold it; in order to build—more correctly, rebuild—Ebla, it must first be destroyed. These names were not given to the two kings at their birth: they were assumed by them after they (and their allies) had conquered Ebla and the leader of the coalition had given the city (or what remained of it) to one of his fellow-kings, who then proceeded to rebuild it. It is immaterial whether the two kings gave themselves these commemorative names or it was the author of the Song who bestowed the names on them: both scenarios would have reflected actual events.

Now we turn to archaeological evidence. As already mentioned (pp. 76–78), the excavations revealed a paradoxical picture: the city of *Mardiḥ* IIB2 was utterly destroyed and leveled, but the royal palace that had been erected at the beginning of the

711. There is no trace of Hurrian names or language in the tablets of Tell Beidar (n. 89 above), a city in the Kingdom of Nagar.

712. For the actual spellings and references, see the index of personal names in the KBo 32 volume and the index of personal names in Neu 1996b, where some names are listed in their normalized forms.

713. Neu 1996b: 448. At first glance the second element, *pabu* (or *wabu* in the very next line), evokes the Hurrian word for 'mountain', long supposed to have been *pab-* (also spelled *waw-*). However, Laroche (1980: 190) affirmed that *pab-* does not exist and that the root is *pabani*, a view shared by Neu. There are certain exceptions, including Middle Assyrian *Pabḫi* for the mountainous area (Cudi Dağ), which was known to the Hittites as *Papanḫi* and to the Urartians as *Babanaḫe*, but otherwise *pabu* is attested only once, in the obscure ^{giš}BANŠUR *pa-bu-un-na-še-na* 'tables, those of the *pabu*' in a list of furniture with Hurrian designations, AT 423:6 (Laroche 1980: 192).

714. Neu 1988b: 96, 113 n. 4; immediately accepted by Otten 1988: 291; Neu 1996b: 441–42. The formations with *-i-* after the verb and the asseverative particle *-b-* are defined as predicative active participles by Speiser 1941: §§123, 171, 177; Laroche 1966: 351; Diakonoff 1981: 78. Wilhelm (1992: 138) correctly related the pattern of the two names to a type of Hurrian name composed with toponyms, but his interpretations "Ebla has given (it = the child)" and "Ebla has created (ditto)" do not fit the present case, because neither of the two kings was a native of Ebla.

715. Neu 1996b: 442.

period was not only spared but remained in use throughout the Middle Bronze I (Mardīh IIIA) period, at the turn of which it was replaced by a new palace, largely on top of it.⁷¹⁶ Usually it was the other way around: the royal palace in a conquered city was destroyed first. But in this case Ebla was not annexed to an extraneous empire; it was intended to remain a royal city but under new rulership. The new lord came to stay, so he took over the royal residence, but he did not need the city's population, so he systematically burned and destroyed the houses to force the inhabitants to go away and be replaced by new occupants. This explains the radical break between the culture of Mardīh IIB2 (which continued that of Mardīh IIB1) and the culture of the following Mardīh IIIA.⁷¹⁷

Immediately after the takeover of Ebla, its new ruler ordered the construction of the great earth rampart around the city—a point in time made certain by the presence of sherds of Mardīh IIB2 pottery but not any from Mardīh IIIA, in the rubble partially used for its erection.⁷¹⁸ The rebuilt Ebla once again became a great and prosperous city. During Middle Bronze I it was ruled by a dynasty that was not Amorite, as presumed, but Hurrian; it became Amorite, in the political sense of the word, only at the beginning of Middle Bronze II, when it was taken over by the Kingdom of Yamḥad.

(f) The Wave of Destruction in Northern Syria

It was customary among archaeologists to synchronize the end of Early Bronze IVB in Syria with the downfall of the Ur III Empire, give or take a few decades. The destruction of Ebla IIB2 fit well into that time frame. Moreover, it was noted that Ebla was not alone in having been destroyed then. As stated by Matthiae,

it is very difficult to fix the exact date of this tragic event. As I have already said, the 2000 B.C. dating is purely formal. On the other hand, comparative evidence from other contemporary centres of the Syrian area, all of which from the Amuq to Hama show the same destruction, indicates that the catastrophe which overwhelmed the Late Protosyrian culture must in any case be dated in the various Upper Syrian cities which were destroyed by it between 2050 and 1950 B.C.⁷¹⁹

A fairly close date for the destruction of Ebla in the Late Bronze IVB period and of other northern Syrian cities that suffered the same fate at the same time can be reached by following Owen's judicious observation that envoys from Syrian cities were recorded at Drehem for the last time in Year 6 of Šu-Sin and that their subse-

716. See n. 121 above.

717. See p. 150 and n. 615 above.

718. The precise dating of Ebla's earth rampart to the very beginning of Middle Bronze I (expounded on by Matthiae 1981: 199–200) upset the previously obtaining chronology of earth fortifications in Syria and Palestine, which, proceeding from Palestinian data, ascribed all of them to Middle Bronze II and connected them with the Hyksos. Now Matthiae tends to date the great earth ramparts of Carchemish and Qatna (for which no stratigraphic data were offered) to about the same time as the rampart at Ebla.

719. Matthiae 1981: 111 (dates according to middle chronology).

quent absence was caused by the collapse of many Syrian cities at that time.⁷²⁰ Year 6 of Šu-Sin was only eight years later than Year 7 of Amar-Sin (1976), when Mekum was recorded as the ruler of Ebla. Assuming that Ebla was destroyed a year or two after its last mention at Drehem, its ruler, Mekum, could still have been ruler at that time, in full agreement with the Song of Manumission. The action of the Song concentrates on Ebla, but the words “and let the lands be destroyed!” in the proem, put in the mouth of Teššub,⁷²¹ show that the author was aware of destruction in other places besides Ebla.

Matthiae and Owen, in the above quoted passages about the wave of destruction, did not enter into details. Since, however, their evidence puts the violent end of Ebla IIB2 into its archaeological and historical context and since the zone of destruction largely coincides with the territory of the former Eblean Empire, it is worth our while to present here a list of the relevant sites that have been excavated and the reports of which, if any, were accessible to me. Such a list, even if incomplete, will still be fairly representative. But first let us see what areas and sites were not affected by the disaster.

Mari actually does not belong to Syria in its strict historicogeographical sense, but it was associated with Ebla both in the period of the archives and in the Ur III period, so let it be said that it suffered no damage at the time under consideration and continued to be ruled by its šakkanakkus. The detailed reports on the excavations in the Amuq area⁷²² contain no data on destruction at the time of transition from Early Bronze IVB to Middle Bronze I or, in the terms of the Amuq periodization, from Phase J to Phase K.⁷²³

At Ras Shamra (Ugarit), a thick layer of ashes was discovered, but it was dated by Schaeffer to between 2400 and 2300.⁷²⁴ A supposed hiatus between Ancient Ugarit 3 (2300–2100) and Middle Ugarit 1 (2100–1900, according to his periodization) was ascribed by Schaeffer to a collapse of mud brick houses resulting from the abandonment of part of the city.⁷²⁵ No hostile action was involved in the decay; furthermore,

720. Owen and Veenker 1987: 275; Owen 1992: 114. The text is Owen 1992: no. 4, already mentioned, in a different connection, on p. 116 above. Owen’s finding remains fully valid even though his assumption that “the disturbances which ultimately brought an end to the city states of Syria and to the Third Dynasty of Ur began in earnest during the reign of Šu-Sin” is not justified. Šu-Sin’s reign and his campaigns were not different from those of Šulgi and Amar-Sin. The disintegration of the empire took place under Ibbi-Sin; it fell under the weight of its own “cumbersome, unnatural organism of royal economy. . . . The astonishing thing is that this economy could have lasted, without falling apart, for a hundred years” (Diakonoff 1959: 254).

721. See p. 143 above.

722. For Alalakh (Aḫana): Woolley 1953, 1955; for the three sites excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Tayinat, Çatal Hüyük, and Cudeyde: Braidwood and Braidwood 1960; Haines 1971.

723. The “violent destruction [which] appears to separate . . . Amuq I from Amuq J,” mentioned in Schwartz and Weiss (1992: 240), took place (if correctly reported) some 300 years before the destruction of Ebla IIB2. In any case, it was not violent enough to interrupt the smooth development of the Amuq I ceramic into Amuq J.

724. Schaeffer 1948: 29 (§26), 41 (§27).

725. Schaeffer 1948: 35 (§22), 577; questioningly placed, as a very narrow gap, between Early Bronze III (2300–2200/2100) and Middle Bronze I (2100–1900), by Courtois (1979: 1143–44).

H. de Contenson, Schaeffer's successor as director of the expedition at Ras Shamra, concluded that "Middle Bronze succeeds immediately to the end of the culture of Early Bronze."⁷²⁶

As Mišrifeh (Qatna), as emphatically stated by du Mesnil du Buisson, who directed the excavations of the site, "no 'interruption' has left a visible trace during that long period . . . from ca. 2000 up to the final destruction" (about 1365); the early palace and temple were repaired and enlarged a few times but never built anew.⁷²⁷

No relevant documentation is available for four major sites within the zone of destruction: the citadel mound of Gaziantep (Uršu),⁷²⁸ where the presence of a Seljuk castle does not allow excavations; Carchemish, where the exploration was dealing mainly with the Neo-Hittite levels; Old Meskeneh (Emar), where the city entirely disappeared, probably swallowed up by a change in the Euphrates bed, and was rebuilt in a different place in the late thirteenth century; and Tell Frayy (presumably Ebal),⁷²⁹ where the Syrian-Italian expedition only had time to work on the thirteenth-century level before the site was submerged by Lake Assad.

Here is a list of the sites that shared the fate of

(1) *Ebla* at the end of Early Bronze IV:⁷³⁰

(2) *Gedikli Hüyük* (LB *Alawari) and

(3) *Tilmen Hüyük* (MB, LB *Haššu). East of the middle part of the Amanus Range, 30 km from each other. According to B. Alkim, who excavated them, there is an extensive conflagration level at Tilmun H, between levels IIIb (Early Bronze IVb, in terms used for the archaeology of Syria) and IIIc (Middle Bronze I), and in the corresponding levels of Gedikli H. This is covered by a layer with "a quite new type of painted pottery," attributed by Alkim to the invasion of a new people.⁷³¹

In the Euphrates Valley:

(4) *Tell Aḥmar* (EB *Abarsal). On the left bank, an important city in Early Bronze III and IV. Fully destroyed and abandoned at the end of that period and subsequently largely unoccupied until approximately 1000, when a new city with a new name was founded on the site by Arameans of Bit-Adini.⁷³²

726. De Contenson 1979: 862.

727. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935a: 21–22 and n. 1 on p. 22. Schaeffer (1948: 116–19, §64), relating the archaeological history of Qatna, did not dispute this statement.

728. On this location, see Astour 1997b: 2–3.

729. See Part 1: 34.

730. The following sites are listed by their modern names. Their ancient names, wherever known, are given in parentheses; names preceded by an asterisk are used according to my identifications presented elsewhere. Whether the identification is valid or not makes no difference in the archaeological evidence from the site.

731. Alkim 1968: 98; 1969: 287; 1970: 30. Alkim thought that the newly arrived people also invaded the Amuq and Cilicia; but the supposed destruction in the Amuq is dated much earlier (cf. n. 723 above), and according to Mellaart (1971a: 406–10), the only wave of destruction in Anatolia, including Cilicia, took place during the transition from Early Bronze II to Early Bronze III, about 2300. Nothing of this kind is mentioned in Mellaart 1971b, which covers the period from 2300 to 1750.

732. Tell Aḥmar, also known as Til Barsib from its Neo-Assyrian name, was excavated from 1929 to 1931 by a French archaeological expedition (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936) and in the 1980s and 1990s by the Melbourne University, Australia (Bunnens 1989, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1997). Most of its

(5) *Tell Qara Qūzāq* (EB *Adu). On the left bank, about 10 km downstream from Tell Aḥmar. Inhabited in Early Bronze III, Early Bronze IVa, and Early Bronze IVb, at the end of which it was completely abandoned and apparently remained so during Middle Bronze I. Restored in Middle Bronze IIA, but this entire level, except the temple, was razed in Middle Bronze IIB in order to build a great number of silo granaries.⁷³³

(6) *Tell Banat* (EB *Ra'aq). A complex of closely located mounds on the left bank, centered on Tell Banat (23 ha), total area approximately 38.5 ha, with large public buildings and a sumptuous hypogeum burial, pointing to a royal city. Inhabited in Early Bronze III and IV, at the end of which the entire conurbation was abandoned and not rebuilt until Late Bronze, when the southern part of Tell Banat was settled anew, along with the top of nearby Mount Bazi.⁷³⁴

(7) *Tell es-Sweyḥat* (EB *Burman). A large Early Bronze site on the left bank, about 3 km from the river, with a central walled acropolis mound and an outer wall of mud brick, a site similar in outlay to Ebla but smaller (ca. 40 ha). Destroyed by a conflagration at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, about the turn of the second millennium. In one excavation sector, evidence of occupation was found immediately after the conflagration, but actual resettlement took place only in the Achaemenid, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.⁷³⁵

(8) *Tell Ḥadidi* (EB, LB Azu). A large site on the right bank, with an area of 135 acres = 54.6 ha, same as Ebla. Inhabited from the beginning of Early Bronze (ca. 3000) to about 2000, when it was destroyed. The restored town of Middle Bronze I was limited to the central mound of 55 acres = 23 ha.⁷³⁶

(9) *Tell Mumbaqaṭ* (EB name not known, MB Yakaltum, LB Ekalte). A large site on the left bank, on a bluff above the level of Lake Assad. Inhabited from the Sargonic period or somewhat earlier to the end of the first millennium B.C. In one of the excavation squares it was found that building phase H4.1/H5 ended in a “catastrophic conflagration” that left a layer of ashes and burned debris 60 cm deep.⁷³⁷

early bronzes and ceramics came from the so-called hypogeum, the date of which was disputed in the 1930s. The estimate by Schaeffer (1948: 84), “not earlier than 2200 and not later than 2000 before our era,” corresponds to what is now known as Early Bronze IVB. Bunnens (1989: 3–4) dated the time when the hypogeum was in use as belonging to Early Bronze IV in general, but in Bunnens 1992: 12 he stated that the whole complex (the hypogeum and the nearby cist graves) belongs to Early Bronze III–IVa. However, note Mazzoni (1985: 9): “The sites on the Euphrates, such as the *hypogeum* of Til Barsib, fall entirely within the horizon of Mardikh IIB 1, with the single exception of the multiple-grooved rim bowls (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936: fig. 31, pl. 25:3–10), which appear only in Mardikh IIB 2. . . . The multiple-grooved rim bowl is present in all the sites along the Euphrates, from Tell Hadidi to Tell es-Sweyḥat (Dornemann 1979: figs. 12:11–17; 115:29, 30; Holland 1977: 57, 58; fig. 2:2–7), but the levels in which such bowls were found have, in fact, been linked with the Neo-Sumerian period, i.e., Mardikh IIB 2.”

733. Del Olmo Lete in Weiss 1994: 131–32.

734. McClellan 1990: 25–26; Porter 1995: 143, 149, and map of the conurbation on p. 126.

735. Holland 1977: 58.

736. Dornemann 1978: 24; 1985: 50.

737. Machule and Rhode in Machule et al. 1974: 14.

Based on the ceramic evidence, the duration of this phase approximately coincided with the period of Ur III.⁷³⁸ In a later campaign, a sounding elsewhere on the mound revealed an area filled with conflagration rubble and ashes, containing ceramics and small objects from both Early Bronze IV and Middle Bronze.⁷³⁹

(10) *Selenkaḥiyeh* (EB *Garmu). A site of over 55 ha on the right bank. Inhabited from approximately 2400 on. Its two Early Bronze IV periods (Phases I + II and III + IV) coincided with the periods Mardīḥ IIB1 and IIB2 at Ebla. Phase IV ended with a general conflagration and destruction that, according to van Loon, “perhaps coincided with the fall of the Ur III empire.”⁷⁴⁰ Phase V amounted to “only a fitful and unsuccessful attempt to continue settled life,” and the site was soon abandoned.⁷⁴¹

In the Balīḥ Valley:

(11) *Tell Hammām et-Turkmān* (EB *Salba, MB Zalpaḥ/Zalbah). A 25-ha site on the left bank of the river. Inhabited, with interruptions, from the Ubaid period on. It was a prosperous city during Early Bronze IV (local period VI), at the end of which it was violently destroyed, burned down, and abandoned for a considerable length of time. Restored in Middle Bronze II, when it was textually attested as a district capital at the time of Šamši-Adad I and Zimri-Lim.⁷⁴²

(12) *Tell Bi‘ah* (EB, MB, LB Tuttul). A hilly 36-ha site on the right bank of the eastern branch of the Balīḥ before it empties into the Euphrates. We have seen above (pp. 107–11) that Tuttul, a direct possession of Ebla at the time of the archives, became a separate kingdom during the disintegration of the Ebla Empire and a vassal in its own right of Ur III, and that its royal palace (the “Old Palace” of the excavators) belongs to that period (Early Bronze IVB). The fiery destruction of the palace should therefore be assigned to the end of that period. The thick accumulation of soil mixed with ashes in the transitional layer between the “Old Palace” and the “New Palace”⁷⁴³ suggests that the conflagration was not limited to the palace. The construction of the “New Palace” was originally dated to the time of Šamši-Adad I, but it was subsequently ascertained that it was already used under Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari

738. Wäfler in Machule et al. 1974: 33–34.

739. Benter in Machune et al. 1996: 17.

740. Van Loon 1969: 276.

741. Van Loon 1979: 111; Schwartz and Weiss 1992: 237. Destructive fires are also attested in two other sites in the Euphrates Valley, above the river’s great bend, but they have not been included here for chronological reasons. According to Strommenger (1980: 69), the small excavated part of Ḥabuba Kabira-Tell was violently destroyed in a fiery catastrophe at the end of Level 3 (second after the rebuilding of the city ca. 2400). She followed the stratigraphic synopsis of Heusch (1980), who was interested in the structure of buildings and not in ceramics, but she omitted his reference to the inventory in the rooms destroyed by fire—namely, the presence of globular bottles with rounded bottoms (Heusch 1980: 164), known as “Syrian bottles” and produced from Early Dynastic III to the early part of the Sargonic period (see p. 110 and n. 336 above). At Tell Ḥalawa, across the Euphrates from Selenkaḥiyeh, Level 2b was destroyed by “a widely spread, evidently uniform conflagration, which was attested in all houses,” but the pottery of the Level 2b “largely corresponds to the material from Ḥamā, Level H” (Orthmann 1981: 23, 29).

742. Van Loon 1988: 584–85.

743. Strommenger 1991: 5, 15–16.

(ca. 1750–1735, low chronology)⁷⁴⁴ and that its first, unfinished stage was only completed, with bricks of a different kind, after a certain gap.⁷⁴⁵ The beginning of the construction of the royal palace should be connected with Tuttul's rising once again to be a capital of a kingdom, this time a tribal one, before its conquest and annexation by Yaḥdun-Lim.⁷⁴⁶

Elsewhere in northern Syria:⁷⁴⁷

(13) *Ansari* (ancient name unknown). A 6-ha site 4.5 km southwest of the Citadel Hill of Aleppo. Inhabited from approximately 2400 to 1590/1550 (middle chronology). Layers of ashes between Level VIII (Early Bronze IVA) and Level VII (Early Bronze IVB). Level VII ends with a burned layer 10 cm thick. Rebuilt in Middle Bronze I and finally destroyed in the last stage of Middle Bronze IIB (probably by the Hittites during the siege and conquest of Ḫalab).⁷⁴⁸

(14) *Neirab* (EB *Niribu, MB Nirabu; retained its name in subsequent periods to this day). A mound and a village over an ancient settlement 6.8 km east-southeast of the Citadel Hill of Aleppo (in a straight line; about 10 km by road). It was excavated in the 1920s⁷⁴⁹ under difficult conditions. At the end of the first stage of the existence of the tell, a particularly violent destruction took place that left piles of ashes, disturbed layers, and totally demolished houses.⁷⁵⁰ Seeing that Neirab is only 8.5 km removed from Ansari, one may suppose that its destruction occurred at the same time and under the same circumstances as Early Bronze IVB Ansari.

(15) *Tell Tuqān* (EB name unknown, MB name uncertain). As mentioned above (p. 78), it is a 27-ha site 15 km east of Ebla, founded in the Mardih IIB2 period and destroyed, along with Ebla. It was restored, as was Ebla, in the beginning of Middle Bronze I; seems to have been the seat of one of the royal appanages of Yamḥad; again destroyed, along with Ebla, in the sixteenth century, at the time of the Hittite wars of conquest, and never rebuilt.

(16) *Tell Ṣabḥa* (ca. 78 ha) and

744. A group of tablets in the style of Mari records from the šakkanakkus period (a style that was sporadically continued under Yaḥdun-Lim; see Durand 1985: 160–61) was discovered in the New Palace, and among them a letter in the new style mentioning Yaḥdun-Lim (Krebernik apud Kohlmeyer and Strommenger 1995: 49–50).

745. Kohlmeyer and Strommenger 1995: 51.

746. In Yaḥdun-Lim's foundation inscription (published by Dossin 1955; reprinted in Dossin 1983: 263–90, col. III:6–7), one of the three Benjaminite kings along the Euphrates is Baḥlu-kulim, king of Tuttul and the land of the Amnanum. After the conquest, Yaḥdun-Lim took the title “king of Mari, Tuttul, and the land of Ḫana.” It was Yahardun-Lim, no doubt, who completed the construction of the palace in Tuttul, which he considered his second capital.

747. If the sites on this part of this list appear to be few and far between compared with those of the Euphrates Valley, it is because the latter area was the arena of speedy salvage excavations before it was submerged by Lake Assad and the lake now forming behind the Tishreen Dam, while no such incentive existed for the inland objects, some of which were not explored all the way to the lowest level.

748. Suleiman and Gritsenko 1987.

749. Carrière and Barrois 1927; Abel and Barrois 1928.

750. Abel and Barrois 1928: 190.

(17) *Tell Munbaṭaḥ* (ca. 44 ha). The ancient names of both sites are unknown. As stated on p. 78 above, these fortified cities on the road from Ebla to Emar were founded in the *Mardīḥ* IIB2 period and were destroyed at the same time as Ebla and *Tell Tuqān* but, unlike those, were never rebuilt.

(18) *Tell Maṣīn* (ancient name unknown). A mound of 205 × 205 m, 12 m high, and about 22 km north-northeast of Ḥamā. Totally destroyed at the end of the third millennium, rebuilt in the middle of the second millennium, and again destroyed in the fourteenth century.⁷⁵¹

(19) *Ḥamā* (EB name uncertain, MB *Tunip, LB *Tunip and Amatu).⁷⁵² The Bronze Age city occupied the Citadel Mound (400 × 300 m at the base, 46 m high, which includes the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab levels) and the lower hill, completely overbuilt, to the south of it.⁷⁵³ Its period J (fourth from the bottom), characterized by caliciform ceramic (“Ḥamā-goblets”) and contemporary with the *Mardīḥ* IIB1 and IIB2 periods at Ebla, is divided by E. Fugmann into two principal phases: the earlier one, comprising levels J8-5, a time of prosperity, which ended in a vast destruction; followed by levels J4-1, a time of depression and decadence, of “dissolution of the city plan,” and of a ceramic that maintained some traditions from the preceding phase but also contained some later types. This transitional phase was replaced by period H, with architecture, pottery, and small objects so radically different from those of period J that Fugmann thought that this was caused by a change of population and guessed that the new inhabitants may have been Hurrians.⁷⁵⁴ As for chronology, Fugmann dated the end of the final phase of period J to about 1900, which is plausible, but he placed the destruction of level J5 at 2200, which is much too high.⁷⁵⁵

The situation was straightened out by van Loon. Proceeding from his own excavations at *Selenkaḥiyeḥ*, as cited above,⁷⁵⁶ he equated its phase IV with Ḥamā J5 and attributed them, cautiously, to the Ur III period. He also noted that the pottery of *Selenkaḥiye*’s postdestruction phase V was comparable to the pottery of the analogous phase J4-2 of Ḥamā.⁷⁵⁷

There are also parallels with other sites. The numerous cylindrical, mudbrick-lined silos at Ḥamā sunk by the people of period H into the layers of the preceding period have at least one counterpart at Tuttul, in the destruction level underneath the

751. Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935b: 123–33. The mound is shown on the map *Khâne Cheikhoûn* 1:50,000, coordinates 373.5 × 243.

752. For Amat(u) of the Ebla texts’ being not Ḥamā but a place on the Euphrates, see Astour 1988: 141 n. 23 and Part 1: 46 n. 281; on Ḥamā = Tunip, see Astour 1977b. The alleged mention of Tunip in Ebla texts is dubious, cf. Part 1: 9 n. 32.

753. This agrees with the distinction between *Tunip ša ḥurāṣi* and *Tunip ša kanakti* in *Alalah VII* texts and perhaps also with the dual use of *Tunip* and *Amatu* in the records of the Egyptian New Kingdom.

754. Fugmann 1958: 271–72, 278; cf. Wäfler 1979.

755. Fugmann (1958: 272) admitted that “it was difficult to observe the transition between the levels J1 and H5 because of the excavations practiced [during the period H] for the construction of numerous silos, etc., with the resulting disturbance of levels.” One may suspect that this disturbance may have affected the entire reconstruction of the stratigraphic picture of the postdestruction levels.

756. Van Loon 1969: 276.

757. Van Loon 1969: 277; 1979: 111 (ceramic parallels).

“New Place.”⁷⁵⁸ There may be more silos to be found outside the palace area. In this respect a close parallel to Ḥamā is offered by Qara Qūzāq where, apparently from a somewhat later phase of Middle Bronze, 42 silos with walls of plastered stone were excavated.⁷⁵⁹ In addition to the pottery of Selenkaḥiyeh, the mixed pottery of Ḥamā J5 finds an analogy in the postconflagration level at Tell Mumbāqat.⁷⁶⁰ And at Ebla, in the rebuilt city of the Mardīḥ IIIA period, the same cultural break as at Ḥamā was evidenced by pottery identical with that of Ḥamā H.⁷⁶¹

This survey, though by necessity spotty, nevertheless points to a definite pattern. The fall of north Syrian cities listed above happened not because of economic decline⁷⁶² but as a result of brutal, intentional destruction inflicted by an overwhelming, concerted military force. It is comparable to the catastrophe wrought by the Peoples of the Sea in Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine in a very few years of the first decade of the twelfth century.⁷⁶³ Not all of the destroyed cities were resettled by the invaders; some were rebuilt a thousand years later or never; in other ones, such as Selenkaḥiyeh, the attempt by the residents to restore their city petered out without any new occupation; in still other cases, such as Ḥamā, the place was taken over by the invaders perhaps a hundred years after the destruction. The case of Ḥamā is characteristic and may serve as proof of Ebla’s leading role in the newcomers’ expansion. At Ebla, the Ḥamā H ceramic, typical of the new cultural situation in inland Syria, appeared at the beginning of the Mardīḥ IIIA period—in other words, immediately after the destruction of the Mardīḥ IIB2 city and the start of Middle Bronze I; but at Ḥamā itself period H began only after a transition period of about a hundred years. This means that Ebla became the midland stronghold of the invaders, protected by the innovative earth rampart, and that after restoring Ebla for themselves and consolidating its power, they established a colony at the semiruin site of Ḥamā.

It is the Song of Manumission that, if viewed from the correct angle, provides us with a clue to understanding the nature of the mute archaeological evidence of the great upheaval of Ebla, as well as of much of northern Syria, at the beginning of Early Bronze IVB.⁷⁶⁴

758. Strommenger 1991: 16–17 and fig. 6, on which the mud brick lining of the silo is clearly visible.

759. The number of silos is given by del Olmo Lete in Weiss 1994: 133. He and Olávarri (1992: 8–10) assign the mass construction of silos to Middle Bronze IIB. Their chronology differs somewhat from that used for example, by Matthiae (1981: 113); their dates for Middle Bronze IIA are ca. 1900–1800 and for Middle Bronze IIB, ca. 1800–1700, while Matthiae uses ca. 1780 for the start of Middle Bronze II (both in terms of middle chronology).

760. See p. 168 above.

761. Matthiae 1981: 139, 146.

762. As surmised by Mazzoni 1985: 12, 16 n. 11.

763. According to Memphite chronology.

764. The 10th and final section of this study, “Ebla in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages,” was not ready for press as of this writing.

[J.-R. Kupper, *NABU* 2001/82, reports that a small number of Old Babylonian tablets was found in the Middle Bronze II palace at Ebla and expounds the contents of one of them (TM.79.Q.174), a loan contract. Of the ten names mentioned in it, one is Semitic, the other nine Hurrian. Kupper characterizes its milieu as “in majority Hurrian.”]

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Gnostic Light on Genesis 1 and 2 via Maśśa'

CYRUS H. GORDON

In this essay, I am defining *Gnosticism* as any system that promises salvation through esoteric knowledge.

I had the good fortune of a close friendship with the leading authority on the last surviving Gnostic community (namely, the Mandeans): Lady E. Stefana Drower. For many years we worked together on Mandaic problems, my contribution being the Semitic etymologies of problematic Mandaic vocabulary items. During much of this period, she was in Baghdad and I was teaching at Smith College. Years later, I was pleased to become a supportive friend of Jorunn Jakobsen (now Mrs. Jorunn Buckley), who was destined to become the successor of Lady Drower as the leading authority on the Mandeans.

In a well-known and much-discussed Ugaritic text, *UT* 'nt pl. x: IV:13, the head of the pantheon states *šm. bny. yw. il* 'the name of my son is Yaw-'El'.¹ If you follow this simple line of reasoning, you are well on your way to Gnostic enlightenment, for in Genesis 1, the creator of mankind is Elohim, the expanded form of El or Eloah. When that creation proved to be less than satisfactory, Elohim's son, Yahwe-Elohim, took over and created Adam and later Eve, who bore him children.²

Proverbs 30 reads as follows:

1 דְּבָרֵי אֲנֹר בֶּן־יִקְהָה הַמִּשְׁאָ
נֶאֱמַר הִגְבֵּר לְאִיתִיאל לְאִיתִיאל וְאָכַל:
2 כִּי בָעַר אֲנֹכִי מֵאִישׁ וְלֹא־בִינַת אָדָם לִי:
3 וְלֹא־לְמִדָּתִי חֲכָמָה וְדַעַת קְדָשִׁים אֲדַע:
4 מִי עֲלָה־שָׁמַיִם וַיֵּרֶד מִי אֶסְתֵּר־רוּחַ בְּחַפְזִי
מִי צָרַר־מַיִם בְּשִׁמְלָה מִי הִקִּים כָּל־אֶפְסֵי־אָרֶץ
מִה־שָׁמוֹ וּמִה־שָׁם בָּנוּ כִּי תִדַּע:

1. The text appears in my *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967) 256. I have discussed the text in my "Poetic Legends and Myths from Ugarit," *Berytus* 25 (1977) 87.

2. For an integrated reading of Genesis 1–2, see my "'This Time' (Genesis 2:23)," in *"Sha'arei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane, E. Tov, and W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, Ind., 1992) 47–51.

In this stanza, we read that, before he could obtain Gnostic enlightenment, 'Agur bin Yaqeh had to confess his abysmal ignorance: 'I am too crude to be a man, nor have I human intelligence. I have not acquired (normal) wisdom, so (how) can I obtain the knowledge of Holy Matters?' The text then goes on to ask: 'Who went up to heaven and came down? Who gathered the wind in his fists? Who bundled waters in the garment? Who set up all the ends of the earth? What is his name, and what is the name of his son, if you know?' The final burst of activity is the enduring re-creation of the world in which we live.

Proverbs 30 is attributed to 'Agur bin Yaqeh of Maśśā', while Proverbs 31 is attributed to King Lemuel of Maśśā'.³ The ecumenical nature of wisdom literature served to allow the Israelites to incorporate foreign material into the book of Proverbs. Israel Eph'al has collected the first-millennium cuneiform material relevant to the land of Maśśā', with the conclusion that it is to be located in North Arabia.⁴ This toponym also appears in the Ebla tablets, as *maš-a*^{ki} in ARET 3, p. 329 (Eblaite orthography does not distinguish between *šin* and *śin*).

There are too many gaps in our knowledge, of course, to enable us to trace a continuous development from the mention of Maśśā' in the third-millennium B.C.E. Ebla texts to the Gnostic teaching attributed to 'Agur of Maśśā' in Proverbs 30 dated to the first millennium B.C.E., with the Ugaritic text standing approximately halfway between these two points. Nevertheless, a broad view of the ancient Near Eastern ecumene is necessary if we are to unlock all the secrets of the documents at our disposal.

The endless charm of research is the constant catena of surprises that it brings us.

3. Admittedly, the reading 'King Lemuel of Maśśā' in Prov 31:1 runs counter to the Masoretic Text, which places an *'atnah* after the word *melek*, thereby separating it from the following word, *maśśā'*. But almost all scholars agree that the words are to be interpreted as 'Lemuel, king of Maśśā'.

4. I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs* (Jerusalem, 1984) 218–19.

Eblaite and Some Northwest Semitic Lexical Links

GARY A. RENDSBURG

Earlier articles in this series have pointed out interconnections between Eblaite and later attested Northwest Semitic languages, especially Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Aramaic.¹ In the present essay, I wish to put forward additional items for comparison, all from the realm of the lexicon.

As the reader reads the following information, I ask that he or she keep in mind my previously stated opinion that Eblaite is to be linked with Amorite and Aramaic in a *Sprachbund* to be called Syrian Semitic, part of the Northwest Semitic (or West Semitic) branch.² We will return to this issue at the end of the essay.

1. *ma-i-at* '100,000'

Most of my material will be drawn from the bilingual texts, but I wish to begin with an item from the administrative texts. Therein we learn that the Eblaite word for '100,000' is *ma-i-at* (attested three times in ARET 2 20: I 1, I 3, IX 1) presenting us with a hitherto unattested form in the Semitic languages. Clearly, the form

Abbreviations used in this essay:

Beeston = A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary – Dictionnaire Sabéen* (Louvain, 1982).

Biella = J. C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect* (Chico, Calif., 1982).

Eblaitica = *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and the Eblaite Language* (3 vols.; Winona Lake, Ind., 1987, 1990, 1992).

HR = B. Hübner and A. Reizammer, *Inim Kiengi II* (Marktredwitz, 1986).

Jastrow = M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (2 vols.; New York, 1903).

KB = L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros* (Leiden, 1953).

Lane = E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (8 vols.; London, 1863–93).

Payne Smith = J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, 1903; repr., Winona Lake, Ind., 1998).

Ricks = S. D. Ricks, *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian* (Rome, 1989).

Schulthess = F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syropalaestinum* (Berlin, 1903).

Sokoloff = M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan, 1990).

1. There is no need to present all the bibliographic particulars here. I refer in the main to articles by Cyrus Gordon and myself that appeared in the first three volumes of *Eblaitica*. Several are cited in the notes below.

2. G. A. Rendsburg, "Monophthongization of *aw/ay* > *ā* in Eblaite and in Northwest Semitic," *Eblaitica* 2 (1990) 91–126, especially pp. 113–16.

is based on the word for ‘hundred’ (Hebrew מאה, Eblaite *mi-at*, and others), but it is a distinct form in itself. Does it have any cognates? C. H. Gordon pointed to the form מאירות, which appears as the *Ketiv* in 2 Kings 11:4, 9, 10, 15, where it is used, perhaps hyperbolically, to refer to the mercenary troops of the Carites, Hebrew כרי.³ The *Qeri* instructs the reader to read מאות ‘hundreds’, clearly the expected form.

Now in the Ugaritic Kret epic we encounter the word *miyt* as well. The text is *UT* 126:iii:4 (= *KTU/CAT* 1.16), where the term is used as a parallel to *mṯr bʿl* ‘the rain of Baal’. Elsewhere in the Kret epic, soldiers are compared to raindrops in a hyperbolic fashion: *UT* Krt 92–93, 180–81 (= *KTU/CAT* 1.14), “Marching by the thousands, like raindrops; by the myriads, like the autumn rain.” Recall as well that Hebrew and Ugaritic both possess the word רביבים/*rbbm* to mean ‘rain’, in particular ‘copious rain’; no doubt this term derives from the same root as the word רבו/רבבה/*rbt* ‘myriad’.

If we combine all of this information, then the מאירות of 2 Kings 11 may be viewed as soldiers who are likened to hundreds of thousands, with the cognate Ugaritic term *miyt* used to describe the rain of Baal at full strength. In short, Eblaite *ma-i-at* ‘100,000’ has cognates both in Hebrew מאירות (albeit attested only in the *Ketiv*) and in Ugaritic *miyt*. Note, incidentally, that the vocalization of the Ugaritic form conforms with the Eblaite form: the *i*-ʾaleph of the former matches the *-i-* of the latter.

Here I need to digress from Ebla for a moment, for it is apposite to discuss the identification of the people called כרי in 2 Kings 11:4 and 19 as soldiers in the employ of the Judahite monarchy. It is natural to identify this term with the Carians, the Anatolian people well known from Greek and Egyptian sources—especially given the ancient attestations to the Carians as mercenaries.⁴ A demurral was raised by M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, who noted that in Near Eastern texts (Aramaic, Elamite, and Persian), these people are always referred to in a triconsonantal form, either *krk* or *krs*; “hence, from the linguistic point of view, the connection between Hebrew *kārî* and sixth-century Carians seems remote.”⁵ On the other hand, the ethnicon *kry* appears in two administrative documents from Ugarit (*UT* 2078:11, 2123:5 = *KTU/CAT* 4.371, 4.647). The latter text, moreover, is a list of persons owning or chartering ships (see the expression *bʿl any* in line 7),⁶ suggesting a connection to the Mediterranean. So, while we cannot state without doubt that Ugaritic *kry* and Hebrew כרי are the Carians, there is at least some evidence to counter the objection of Cogan and Tadmor. At the very least, if we exclude the Carian connection here (and perhaps more to the point for our present purposes), we can correlate the Hebrew and Ugaritic terms and suggest that we are dealing with a group with some connection to north Syria. As such, the unique form מאירות in 2 Kings 11 might be a lexeme of

3. C. H. Gordon, “Eblaite and Northwest Semitic,” *Eblaitica* 2 (1990) 127 n. 1.

4. For a recent discussion of the Carians, see J. D. Ray, “Soldiers to Pharaoh: The Carians of Southwest Anatolia,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (4 vols.; ed. J. M. Sasson; New York, 1995) 2.1185–94, with reference to the biblical material on p. 1189.

5. M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (Anchor Bible 11; New York, 1988) 126.

6. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (Münster, 1995) 441.

north Syrian provenance. Regardless, *ma-i-at/miyt/מאירת* is attested in Eblaite, Ugaritic, and Hebrew, though in the latter with reference to a people with possible north Syrian links. The word may be a regional term retained only in the Semitic languages of northern Syria.

2. *é-mu* ‘Fit, Proper’

We turn now to the bilingual texts, which I will cite according to the numeration system in the synopsis of G. Pettinato (MEE 4). Entry 100 is the Sumerian word *nì-gig*, one of whose meanings is ‘taboo’ (HR, 734), and which is glossed in one of three ways: *qá-di-šum*, *nì-qí-tum*, and *é-mu*. A well-known phenomenon in the intersection of the disciplines of religion and linguistics is that words for ‘taboo, etc.’, in one language often are cognate with words for ‘holy, pure, etc.’, in another language. The best example in Semitic is the root *hrm*: in Hebrew it means ‘taboo, ban’; in Arabic it means both ‘taboo, ban’ and ‘sacred, holy’, depending on the context; in Geez it means ‘consecrate’; and in Old South Arabian the nominal forms *hrm/mhrm* mean ‘sanctuary, temple’ (Beeston, 70–71; Biella, 190; Ricks, 68).

With this information in mind, we are able to recognize the roots *qdš* and *nqy* quite easily in the first two Eblaite forms. The former is widespread in Semitic with the meaning ‘holy’ (though it means ‘shine’ in Akkadian). The latter means ‘clean, innocent’ in Hebrew and Ugaritic, without any religious signification necessarily, but in other Semitic languages it does carry the connotation ‘purify, etc.’, in a religious or cultic sense—for example, in Old South Arabian (Biella, 316 [though admittedly the sole attestation is in a broken text]).⁷

But what of the third form, *é-mu*? This gloss I propose to identify with Aramaic חמי ‘proper, worthy’ (Sokoloff, 205; Jastrow, 476), which in several instances carries the meaning ‘ritually fit’. This lexeme, incidentally, derives from the verbal root חמי ‘see’; compare Mishnaic Hebrew ראוי ‘fit, proper’, derived from the common verb ראה ‘see’.⁸

7. Since the present article was written and submitted for publication, a superb new resource for the Aramaic lexicon has appeared, namely, A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (2 vols.; Leiden, 2000). Additional lexicographical information on a number of the items treated herein may be found in Tal’s work. But I take the opportunity to mention one specific datum of particular relevance. In §2, I refer to Eblaite *nì-qí-tum*, derived from the root *nqy*, meaning typically ‘clean, innocent’, but also able to carry a religious connotation at times, though my example from Old South Arabian is admittedly somewhat far afield. Tal (pp. 546–47) now provides the best evidence for the religious connotation of the root *nqy* in a Northwest Semitic language. In Samaritan Aramaic texts, one encounters such expressions as טעו בעמי נקיא תתעמי ‘the sin among the people shall appear as pure’ and הן נקיא לכהנה יכל יתה ‘(an offering that was allotted and given to the priest, if it was defiled by him or by another,) is it fit for the priest to eat?’ This correspondence thus adds still another link between an Eblaite word attested in the bilingual texts and an Aramaic word attested millennia later.

8. The question remains whether or not חמי ‘see’ (‘show’ in the *Pael* conjugation) is related to the common verb חוי ‘show, tell’ (also in the *Pael* conjugation). I think that most scholars would believe the latter to be the original root and would derive the former from it, as a by-form with labial consonant interchange. The latter is certainly more frequently attested in Old Aramaic inscriptions (*DNWSI*, 353–54, 381). The Eblaite evidence, if I am correct in my interpretation of *é-mu*, now forces us to rethink

In sum, the Eblaite bilingual dictionaries present three equivalents for Sumerian *nì-gig* ‘taboo’, and all three have cognates in the various Semitic languages (in particular Northwest Semitic) meaning ‘holy, purify, proper, etc.’.

3. *maš-ba-tum* / *maš-bí-tum* ‘Military Encampment, Troops, etc.’

Entry 140 is Sumerian *erén-ki-gar* or *ki-erén-gar*, terms that suggest a stationed military, based on *erén* ‘soldier(s), troop(s)’ (HR, 277) and *ki-gar* ‘sit on the ground (vb.), place (n.)’ (HR, 547). The bilingual texts render this item with one of two Eblaite terms: *maš-ba-tum*/*maš-bí-tum* and *ù-ma-núm* (see below, §4, for discussion of the latter).

Two suggestions have been put forward to explain the first of these equivalents. One is to equate *maš-ba-tum*/*maš-bí-tum* with the root *šb* ‘army’, known from Hebrew, Ugaritic, and other languages.⁹ This proposal has two difficulties, however. One necessitates reading the MAŠ sign as *maš*, and the other needs to account for the feminine ending *-t* (and perhaps also the preformative *m-*). Neither of these problems is insurmountable, but the two remain minor difficulties nonetheless. The other proposal connects *maš-ba-tum*/*maš-bí-tum* with the root “*y/wšb, ‘to stay, reside’ as adjectival formations, perhaps in the plural, ‘resident, stationed people’,”¹⁰ which fits the Sumerian entry quite nicely. Moreover, there are occasions, at least in Hebrew, on which the root *yšb* conveys the sense of ‘encamp’ in a military context (1 Samuel 13:16, 1 Kings 11:16, etc.).

Of these two possibilities—connection with the root *šb* or connection with the root *yšb*—I prefer the latter option. But there is still a third option that needs to be considered. A Semitic root with pure military sense is the root *šby* ‘take captive’, which in Old South Arabian (in which the root is *sb*) means more generally ‘undertake a military campaign (vb.), troops (n.)’ (Beeston, 122; Biella, 324). This may be the best solution to analyzing *maš-ba-tum* / *maš-bí-tum* because both the phonetics and the semantics have a closer match. The forms of the nouns would be the forms of Hebrew מכלה, מקרה, etc., and Hebrew מרעית, משכית, etc., respectively—both feminine nominal forms derived from IIIy roots (nouns of this type occur in Aramaic too).¹¹

this matter. The two verbs may be unrelated, or the *by*-forms (without positing one as original and the other as derivative) may have developed at an early stage in the history of the Semitic languages of Syria. To further complicate matters, note also the root *חזי* ‘see’, though in this case the middle root letter is not a labial of course.

9. G. Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaita* (Quaderni di Semitistica 17 = Miscellanea Eblaitica 3; Florence, 1990) 84–85.

10. F. M. Fales, “Formations with *m-* Prefix in the Bilingual Vocabularies,” in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (ed. H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann; Heidelberg, 1988) 206.

11. The vowel in the first syllable of the former group of Hebrew nouns is *i*, but this vowel was originally *a* and only later shifted to *i*, due to what scholars call “the corollary to Phillipi’s law,” that is, *a* → *i* in an originally closed, unaccented syllable (cf. the Masoretic vocalization of שמשון *šimšōn* with English ‘Samson’, derived from Greek and Latin renderings of the name).

4. *ù-ma-núm* ‘Military Encampment, Troops, etc.’

The second gloss used to define Sumerian *erén-ki-gar* (see above, §3) is Eblaite *ù-ma-núm*, a term readily identifiable with Akkadian *ummānu* ‘army’. But there is a Hebrew component to this discussion, too. In the Mishna, specifically Bava Batra 9:4, the term *אומנות* is used in a most unusual way, not in its usual sense of ‘handiwork, artwork’ but, rather, with the meaning ‘government service’. Long ago Jacob Barth posited that this Hebrew usage is a borrowing from Akkadian *ummānu* ‘army’.¹² This remains a possibility, but now we must reckon with another option. It is possible that the word *ummānu* ‘army’ was present in the west from the third millennium onward. That is to say, it was in local use at Ebla and presumably elsewhere in the West Semitic world, to resurface thousands of years later in one attestation in the Mishna. Scholars are well aware of words in the Mishna that are not attested in the Bible but do appear in Ugaritic. Now, perhaps, we may have to consider stretching the continuum back to the third millennium, with Mishnaic usages anticipated in Eblaite.¹³

5. *é-ša-gú-um* ‘Emaciated, Sickly’

Entry 209 in the bilingual vocabulary has two Eblaite equivalents to the Sumerian KA.HAR: *šī-na-tum é-la-um* (or *šī-na-ti é-la-um*) and *é-ša-gú-um*. The former has been treated by F. M. Fales, who has correctly seen the words to mean ‘teeth: to be sick’,¹⁴ the Hebrew equivalent of which would be *שנים חולות*. The word for ‘tooth’ of course is common to all Semitic languages. The root *hly* ‘to be sick’ is not so widespread in Semitic. It appears most commonly in Hebrew and rarely in Aramaic and Akkadian.

I would like to concentrate not on this issue, however, but on the alternative rendering, *é-ša-gú-um*. The root here is *hšk*, whose usual meaning ‘to be dark’ is attested in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. This definition nicely matches the idea of a ‘sick tooth’, since a dark or blackened tooth is a sign of disease.

But there is a second meaning for the root *hšk* that may be even more relevant—namely, ‘emaciated, sickly’, attested only in Aramaic (Sokoloff, 217; Jastrow, 510–11). For example, in Targum Neofiti the form *חשיך* is used to translate the Hebrew word *רע* in Genesis 41:21, referring to the appearance of the seven sickly cows of Pharaoh’s dream. In the Targum to Job 33:21 the verb form *איתחשך* occurs, predicated of bones in a context dealing with wasting away and imminent death (the Hebrew term that it translates is *שפי*, a word of unsure meaning, though note Arabic

12. J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien* (Leipzig, 1893) 60. See also S. A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago, 1974) 109 n. 391.

13. Compare Gordon’s positing of the resurfacing of the Eblaite god Qura millennia later in Jewish and Syriac magical texts of late antiquity; see Gordon, “Eblaite and Northwest Semitic,” 130.

14. F. M. Fales, “A Survey of Two-Word Eblaic Entries in the Bilingual Vocabularies,” in *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; Florence, 1984) 176.

safā IV ‘become thin’, Aramaic שפי ‘crush, grind’¹⁵). In light of these usages, I am inclined to see in Eblaite *é-ša-gú-um* the equivalent of Aramaic חשיך.¹⁶

6. *du-ba-lu* ‘Pasture’

Entry 277 equates Sumerian *ù-síg* with Eblaite *du-ba-lu* (or *du-ba-lu-um*), clearly the root *db*r ‘pasture’. The nominal form with prefixed *m-* is common in Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Aramaic (*mdbr*/מדבר).¹⁷ The verbal root is best attested in Aramaic, where it means both ‘lead, guide’ generally and ‘lead a flock to pasture’ specifically (Sokoloff, 138–39; Jastrow, 278; Payne Smith, 82–83). Moreover, a nominal form without prefixed *m-* occurs in Aramaic and Syriac, in the form *dabrā* ‘pasture, field’ (Jastrow, 279; Payne Smith, 83).

7. *ša-ba-lum* ‘Stalk of Grain’

One of the bilingual texts includes an entry, no. 304, that equates Sumerian *ú-eden-dam* with Eblaite *ša-ba-lum*. The Sumerian term suggests a plant of the steppe (the addition of *dam* notwithstanding), and there can be little doubt that the Eblaite equivalent is cognate to Hebrew שבלת, Akkadian *šubultu*, etc. But the closest parallel is forthcoming from Syriac, which attests to several forms without the feminine ending *-t*—for example, *šebbelā*’ (Payne Smith, 556–57).¹⁸

8. *si-ru_x-um* ‘City, City Wall, Fortification, etc.’

Entry 316 is the Sumerian form *é-dur*, whose usual meaning is ‘town, marketplace’, but can also mean ‘fortification outworks’ (HR, 250). The Eblaite bilingual texts gloss this term with either *kà-pá-ru_x* or *si-ru_x-um*. The first word is clearly the well-known and widespread word for ‘village, town’: Aramaic כפר, Akkadian *kapru*, Arabic *kafr*, etc. The alternative gloss, which appears in the majority of the Ebla bilinguals, has not been explained as yet. The most likely candidate for a cognate is Aramaic-Hebrew שור, which typically means ‘city wall’ but can occasionally mean ‘place of habitation’ (Sokoloff, 542; Jastrow, 1541; Payne Smith, 568; Schult-hess, 204; KB, 958, 1129). The word is especially common in Aramaic; it is used

15. See R. Gordis, *The Book of Job* (New York, 1978) 376.

16. I realize, of course, that teeth do not become emaciated like the rest of the body, but the same also can be said of bones. Since the Aramaic cognate can be used of bones, as in the Targum to Job 33:21, by extension it could be used of teeth as well. Or perhaps all that we need to presume is that the word means ‘sickly’ in general.

17. The form *madbaru* (with variants) occurs in Akkadian, but all agree that the word is a borrowing from West Semitic; see *AHW* 572. For a longer list of textual citations, though without reference to the West Semitic origin of the word, see *CAD* M/1 11–12.

18. Further afield, see Ethiopic *sabl*.

only rarely in Hebrew.¹⁹ Thus, the usual meaning of Sumerian *é-dur* matches the rare meaning of Aramaic שׁוּר (that is, ‘city, place of habitation’) or, conversely, the rare meaning of Sumerian *é-dur* matches the usual meaning of Aramaic-Hebrew שׁוּר (that is, ‘city wall, outworks’). Nevertheless, this should not prevent us from making the connection between the two.²⁰

There is, of course, a discrepancy between the *i*-vowel of the Eblaite form and the *u*-vowel of the Aramaic-Hebrew form, but such interchanges are well known in Semitic. The Ebla bilinguals, in fact, provide several examples.²¹ Furthermore, the form שׁוּרְתִּיה in Jeremiah 5:10, which clearly means ‘its walls’,²² demonstrates that the vowel in the Hebrew form is liable to change (the form in Jer 5:10 is more closely associated with the feminine שׁוּרָה, not the masculine שׁוּר, but this has no effect on the point under consideration).²³

9. *bu-rúm* ‘Pit, Cistern’

Entry 520 equates Sumerian *š*u-a with two Eblaite words: *bu-rúm* and *mas-da-bí-nu-um* (or *-núm*). There are two potential cognates of the first word, which unfortunately are often confused in the study of Semitic languages and literatures. The two words are Hebrew בּוֹר ‘pit, cistern’ and בָּאֵר ‘well’ and their cognates. These two items are distinct and should not be confused. The former refers to any pit (and can euphemistically mean ‘prison’ as well—for example, Genesis 40:15), but often is used for a pit dug specifically for the collection of rain water—that is, a cistern. A בָּאֵר ‘well’ has a different purpose; it is dug deep into the ground in order to draw water from the water table. This is a rather simple lesson, and it may be unnecessary to remind the reader of this distinction, but I repeat that the two often are confused.²⁴

19. I take the opportunity to propose its presence in Psalm 92:12 וַתִּבֶּט עֵינִי בַשּׁוּרִי, where the word has not been recognized, as far as I can determine. I offer the following translation: ‘my eye looks over my walls’, with the emphasis on the single eye peering over the defense walls, looking at the enemies referred to in the remainder of the verse. I shall treat this passage in greater detail in a separate article in the future.

20. Are the rare Mandaic words *šar/šira* ‘inhabited district’ related as well? Usually, they are connected with the more commonly attested lexeme *mšara* (thus, e.g., E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary* [Oxford, 1963] 279–80, 445, 463). Should the Eblaite evidence cause us to rethink this relationship?

21. A good example is entry 816a, where *MI-an* (= *gi₆-an*) is glossed as both *mu-šum* and *me-su*, and an alternative orthography of the latter occurs in ARET 3 189:v.I:3–5 as *me-šum* (see the interpretation of Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte*, 196). The normalized forms of these words are /mūš-um/ and /mīš-um/; see P. Fronzaroli, “The Eblaic Lexicon: Problems and Appraisal,” in *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; Florence, 1984) 147.

22. Thus already Rashi and David Qimḥi in their comments on this verse.

23. To continue the example adduced in n. 21 above, a parallel to the variant form שׁוּרְתִּיה appears in entry 816b, where Sumerian *MU-an* (= *gu₁₀-an*) is glossed as *ma-[s]a-a-um*, with still another vowel in the first syllable of this word.

24. As appears to be done in Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte*, 146.

Now in the Ebla bilingual texts the word for ‘well’ appears, in entry 1343, where Sumerian *ab-a* is glossed with Eblaite *bū-la-tum* = the plural form, cognate to Hebrew בארות (and also with *ti-’à-ma-tum* = Hebrew תהום).²⁵ In entry 520 the form *bu-rúm*, then, is the equivalent of Hebrew בור ‘cistern’.

10. *mas-da-bí-nu-um* ‘Supplier of Rain Water’

The identification of *bu-rúm* as ‘cistern’ (see above, §9) enables us to explain the alternative rendering of Sumerian *šū-a*, namely, Eblaite *mas-da-bí-nu-um* (or *-núm*). The form suggests the pattern of a Š-stem participle²⁶ of the root *ṭbn*, a nominal form of which appears in Ugaritic in the context of rain. In a famous scene in 1 Aqht 46 (= *KTU/CAT* 1.19.I.46), the hero Daniel curses the land with a drought, stating: *bl ṭl bl rbb bl šr’ thmtm bl ṭbn ql b’l* ‘let there be no dew, let there be no rain-drop, let there be no surging of the two deeps, let there be no rain of the voice of Baal’. The word *ṭbn* usually is translated ‘goodness’, and a connection with the root *ṭb* ‘good’ remains possible; but regardless of the derivation of the word, clearly it represents rain in some fashion. In light of this Ugaritic lexeme, I propose that Eblaite *mas-da-bí-nu-um* means ‘supplier of rain water’, an appropriate synonym of *bu-rúm* ‘cistern’.

11. *sa-a-tum* ‘Roasted Grain’

With entry 678 our attention is drawn not to Northwest Semitic parallels but to an Arabic usage. In this entry Sumerian *še-sa* ‘roasted grain’ is rendered by Eblaite *sa-a-tum*. The administrative texts provide the additional readings *sà-la-tum* and *sà-a-tum*.²⁷ Cognates for this form include Hebrew סלת, Akkadian *siltu*, etc., usually translated ‘fine flour’. But in Arabic the cognate *sultu* has among its various connotations ‘roasted grain’ (Lane, 1401), a definition that fits Sumerian *še-sa* perfectly.

12. *za-núm* ‘A Type of Vegetation’

Entry 692 is another example of a Sumerian word glossed by two different Eblaite terms, each with cognates in Northwest Semitic. The Sumerian term is *še-sum*, which means ‘leek, garlic, onion’ and which is equated with Eblaite *za-núm* and *da-su-um*. The latter term is easily recognizable as cognate to Hebrew דשא, Ara-

25. For discussion, see R. R. Stieglitz, “Ebla and the Gods of Canaan,” *Eblaitica* 2 (1990) 88. In addition to the information conveyed by Stieglitz, note the interesting point that in Modern Hebrew ‘well water’ or the ‘water table’ is called תהום מי.

26. Notwithstanding the fact that the form begins with *ma-*, since *mu-* is expected for participles of derived stems; see E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (Leuven, 1997) 420. However, as a parallel, note MEE 4, VE no. 403, *ma-ša-dab₆-ti-nu* = Akkadian *muštaptinnu*, for which see Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte*, 128.

27. For references, see F. Pomponio, “Peculiarità della grafia dei termini semitici nei testi amministrativi eblaiti,” in *Il bilinguismo a Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1984) 315.

maic דתא, and Akkadian *diš²u* ‘grass’ (compare also South Arabian [both ancient and modern] *dt*’ ‘spring herbage, spring rain, etc.’). Cognates for *za-núm* do not spring to mind straightforwardly; nevertheless, we may propose Aramaic זונין ‘weed grass’, especially as produced from wheat or other grain (Sokoloff, 174; Schulthess, 56). Of course, the terms represented here, ‘grass, weed grass, leek, garlic, onion’, are different vegetations, but they do have in common the distinctive tall green blades and stalks. In comparative lexicography, not only in Semitic but in the study of languages in general, one must allow for different types of semantic development (which in the present instance is represented most of all by the aforementioned South Arabian evidence).

* * *

I conclude this study with a few general observations. The items discussed above have been chosen, of course, not due to any scientific system of selection (as is done, for example, in glottochronological study), but due to the fact that my research into the Eblaite lexicon revealed these points of contact between Eblaite and Northwest Semitic. Accordingly, in what follows, I recognize that my comments are wholly subjective.

It is noteworthy that in the lexical items presented there is a high degree of coherence between Eblaite and Aramaic. The following Eblaite words have been explained based on cognates attested solely or most commonly in Aramaic:

Eblaite *é-mu* ‘fit, proper’ = Aramaic חמי

Eblaite *é-ša-gú-um* ‘emaciated, sickly’ = Aramaic חשיך

Eblaite *du-ba-lu* ‘pasture’ = Aramaic דברא

Eblaite *ša-ba-lum* ‘stalk of grain’ = Syriac *šebbelā*

Eblaite *si-ru_x-um* ‘city, city wall, fortification’ = Aramaic שור

Eblaite *za-núm* ‘a type of vegetation’ = Aramaic זונין

As I stated at the outset, my previously expressed view on Eblaite is that it is to be grouped with Amorite and Aramaic to form a Syrian *Sprachbund*. The exact relationship among these languages cannot be described more specifically; we plainly lack the necessary data to state anything more specific. But the links between Eblaite and Aramaic, which have been pointed out both in my earlier study and in the present article, are not unexpected. The role of geography is important here, for the language that inherited the spatial domain of Eblaite 1500 to 2000 years later was Aramaic. It is only natural that this Semitic language should play an important role in the elucidation of the Eblaite vocabulary.

I realize, of course, that linguistic taxonomy should be based on grammatical issues, not lexical ones. Semitists well recall I. J. Gelb’s rule of “grammar over lexicon,” expressed in his still-valuable essay, “Thoughts about Ibla: A Preliminary Evaluation, March 1977.”²⁸ The rule is correct in theory and in practice, but it may

28. I. J. Gelb, “Thoughts about Ibla: A Preliminary Evaluation, March 1977,” *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 1/1 (1977) 1–30, in particular p. 17.

be implemented only when the data allow. Since the Ebla texts provide only limited information of a grammatical nature,²⁹ the analysis of the Eblaite lexicon perforce plays a greater role in judging the place of the language within Semitic.³⁰

Finally, I offer here a few thoughts on the term *Eblaite* in the light of this study. Obviously, what I and other scholars refer to as Eblaite is the totality of non-Sumerian lexical and grammatical attestations in the texts found at Tell Mardikh. But, as Gelb already realized, the appearance of a word in a bilingual Eblaite dictionary does not automatically mean that the word is part of the native vocabulary of the denizens of northern Syria in the third millennium B.C.E.³¹ That is to say, the bilingual texts may be nothing more than a collection of words in use throughout different parts of the Semitic-speaking world then in contact with Ebla. They may have been collected by the scribes of ancient Ebla in order to facilitate correspondence and communication with the various trading partners. This might explain why one Sumerian word is glossed in two or three different ways in the different dictionaries. To be more specific, when one Sumerian word is defined in two different ways, it may be that one gloss represents the East Semitic equivalent, which would have been used in correspondence with the Akkadian speakers to the east, and that another gloss represents the Northwest Semitic equivalent, which would have been used in correspondence with speakers of these dialects in the near vicinity of Ebla. In a case where three different glosses appear in the Ebla bilingual texts, perhaps the third entry represents something closer to a Central Semitic or South Semitic form, as revealed through latter-day cognates in Arabic and South Arabian, which was used in dealings with the peoples of the Syrian Desert. Naturally, none of this is demonstrable, but it is a point to keep in mind as the study of the Eblaite language continues to progress in the years ahead.

29. On the other hand, the picture has been made much clearer with the appearance of Lipiński's magnificent magnum opus cited above in n. 26.

30. The most comprehensive work is Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte*. For a recent effort of a more limited nature, but with greater attention to Northwest Semitic, especially Hebrew, see P. Artzi, "Tosafot 'Ebla'iyyot la-Milon ha-'Ivri," in *Mehqarim ba-Lashon ha-'Ivrit ha-'Atiqā ve-ha-Ḥadasha Mugashim le-Menaḥem Zvi Qaddari* (ed. S. Sharvit; Ramat-Gan, 1999).

31. I. J. Gelb, "The Language of Ebla in the Light of the Sources from Ebla, Mari, and Babylonia," in *Ebla 1975–1985* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1987) 49–74. In particular, see p. 49: "What is really the language of Ebla? Are all the texts discovered at Ebla Eblaite? What kind of Ebla sources are best suited for the recovery of the Eblaite language?" And p. 71: "The evaluation of the lexical items would have been based, perforce, on the lexical texts whose ultimate origin is unknown. While they were actually written at Ebla, we do not know to what extent the local scribes utilized in their compositions foreign sources presumably borrowed from Babylonia."

Divine Pairs in the Ebla Pantheon

ROBERT R. STIEGLITZ

Pairs of deities are probably best known from the ancient Near Eastern treaties, which invoke the divine duos to serve as witnesses to various covenants. In these texts, the deities are invariably listed as couples: first the god, then his female consort. In another genre, divine twosomes are often attested in the cosmogony literatures. In both Egyptian and Mesopotamian theogonies we encounter successive divine pairs in their tales of how the cosmos was formed and by whom. A third type of a divine duo—this one, however, being a single entity—is well known from the Ugaritic literature. Here we encounter deities of the so-called A-and-B formation. These are actually references to a single deity with a dual name: the artisan-god Kothar-and-Hasis; the planet Venus as the morning and evening star, Shahar-and-Shalim; the chthonic deity Tit-and Kamish; and several others.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find in the archives of Ebla references to pairs of deities. What is new at Ebla are the names of deities themselves, some of which may be unique to Ebla, while others are known from later literatures. The context of our references in the Ebla archives is primarily in the administrative accounts. These texts enumerate offerings, or other transactions, made in connection with both religious and commercial dealings.

In a few cases we also have ritual texts that refer to divine pairs. Unfortunately, the latter documents do not provide details about the nature of the deities involved. Indeed, some of these gods and goddesses have not been identified at all, and in some cases even the readings of their names are uncertain.

The Eblaite divine pairs, at least those that we can identify, appear to belong to the traditional male-and-female variety, rather than to the Ugaritic A-and-B type. For our investigation, a key document is the ritual text ARET 7 150. It tabulates offerings made to ten deceased and divinized kings of Ebla.¹ In addition to the dead kings, we also find listed a group of deities that starts with the names of three divine pairs, namely:

1. ^dNi-da-kul wa ^dBe.sal
2. ^dRa-sa-ap wa ^dA-dam-ma
3. ^dA-gú wa ^dGu-la-du

1. See A. Archi, "Die Ersten zehn Könige von Ebla," *ZA* 76 (1986) 213–17; idem, "Cult of the Ancestors and Tutelary God at Ebla," in *Fucus: A Semitic/Afrasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman* (ed. Y. L. Arbeitman; Amsterdam, 1988) 103–12.

It stands to reason, due to the type of our text, that these three couples are deities connected with the underworld. Confirmation is derived from the second pair, which names the well-known lord of the Netherworld, *Rašap*, together with his Eblaite consort, the goddess *Adam(m)a*.² We should note here, in connection with the god *Rašap*, that in ARET 3 337 we find listed the divine pair ^dA-*da-ma* wa ^dTU ^ʾÀ-*da-ni*^{ki}. Now, since the deity *Ra-sa-ap* ^ʾÀ-*da-ni*^{ki} ‘Reshef of Adani’ is well known at Ebla, we can propose to equate him with the unknown god whose name is written ^dTU ^ʾÀ-*da-ni*^{ki}. Both have the goddess *Adam(m)a* as their consort, and both have a primary cult center in the city of AdaNI. We can thus discard the suggestion by W. G. Lambert that ^dTU is an Eblaite short form of the Sumerian goddess ^dNin-tu.³ The writing ^dTU is simply one of two Sumerograms for the god *Rašap*, the other being ^dNè.er_i₁₀ = *Ra-sa-ap*.⁴ Because the document we are considering (ARET 7 150) is a ritual text, listing offerings of sheep to the dead kings of Ebla, it is likely that the very first pair of deities listed there represents the leaders of the pantheon and/or its most important couple for this ritual.

To be sure, the god *Ni-da-kul* is very well attested in numerous texts from the archive of Ebla, but his identity and even the reading of his name have remained enigmatic. Besides the writing ^dNi-*da-kul*, we also find the variant orthography ^dNi-*da-bal* for this deity. The latter spelling is apparently a mere scribal error, confusing the *kul* sign with *bal*.

W. G. Lambert has proposed identifying the god *NidaKUL* with the moon-deity (Canaanite *Yarih-*).⁵ The texts indicated that one of the cult centers for this god was the town of Larugatu, and Lambert compared this name to Ugaritic *Lrgt*, known from text RS 24.244 (*Ugaritica* 5, no. 7) as the abode of the moon-god *Yrḥ*. However, subsequent texts from Ebla indicated that the primary cult center for the god *Ni-da-kul* was *Lu-ba-an*. Thus, E. Sollberger (ARET 8, p. 10) concluded that ^dNi-*da-kul* is a deity peculiar to Ebla. I should like to suggest yet another interpretation for the identity of this deity.

The consort of ^dNi-*da-kul*, like her mate, was worshiped in the town of Luban (ARET 4 11) and at other cult centers as well, and she provides a clue to the identification of her mate. The name of the goddess is written as a Sumerogram/logogram *Be.sal* meaning ‘Lady’—in other words, this is not her name proper but her primary epithet. The Eblaite reading of her name was probably *Bēlatu*, a title identical to the title of the Canaanite goddess *B^ʿlt*.⁶ At Ebla, the syllabic spelling of such a divine name is, indeed, attested as ^d*Be-la-tum* (MEE 1 855). Her consort, then, could

2. See my “Ebla and the Gods of Canaan,” in *Eblaitica* 2 (1990) 81. *Rašap* and *Adam(m)a* are also associated in ARET 2 8 and in ARET 3 155. The name of the goddess is written ^dA-*dam-ma* or ^dA-*da-ma*. Note also the month name ^dA-*dam-ma-um*.

3. W. G. Lambert, “The Section AN,” in *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla* (ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1984) 398.

4. MEE 4, VE no. 806.

5. W. G. Lambert, “The Identity of the Eblaite God *NidaKUL*,” *OA* 23 (1984) 43–44.

6. On Ugaritic *b^ʿlt* ‘Lady’, see *UT* 19.493; Phoenician *b^ʿlt* is best known in the form *b^ʿlt gbl* ‘Mistress of Byblos’ (*KAI* nos. 4–6), but this goddess is also attested as unqualified *b^ʿlt* ‘Lady’ in an inscription from Byblos (*KAI* no. 9).

well be entitled ‘Lord’ and, if we read the sign *ni* as *ʔa_x/* and the sign *ku* as */nu₅/*, we can read the name *Ni-da-ku* as Eblaite *ʔA_x-da-nu₅*, which would indeed mean ‘Lord’ or ‘Father’.

It seems to me that we may equate the proposed Eblaite *Adānu* with the Ugaritic god *Adn* in RS 24.272 (*Ugaritica* 5, no. 6), who is depicted as the lord/father of the deceased kings of Ugarit.⁷ In that text, the “Lord” consults with a quasi-mythological figure in the Netherworld named *Ditanu*, the divinized ancestor and founder of the Ugaritic dynasty.

Now the full title of this Ugaritic deity was *adn ilm rbm* ‘the Lord of the Great Gods’, suggesting that he was the leader of the gods and, as such, also of the divinized dead monarchs. This very role would be most suitable for the Eblaite deity whose name we read *Adānu*. For he is named first, together with his consort *Bēlatu*, before *Rašap* and *Adamma*, as the recipient of the offerings to the deified kings and other deities of Ebla listed in ARET 7 150.

Since *Adānu* and *Bēlatu* may well be the formal heads of the Eblaite pantheon, their Mesopotamian counterparts would be *Enlil* and *Ninlil*, while in Canaan of the Late Bronze Age their equivalents would be *El* and *Asherah*. It may well be that the Eblaite god *Rašap* was considered the son of *Adānu*, just as his Mesopotamian relative *Nergal* was the son of *Enlil*. In Canaan, too, *El* and *Asherah* were the parents of the gods, as is implied in the Ugaritic epithet of *Asherah qnyt ilm* ‘Creatress of the Gods’ (*UT* 51:I:23, etc.). Such a relationship (of father and son) would explain the order of the divine pairs in our text.

The third divine pair listed in ARET 7 150 is still unknown. The deity whose name is written *ʔA-gú* is well attested in the texts and in theophoric names as well. His consort, *ʔGu-la-du*, or *ʔGu-la-tú*, bears a name that could be interpreted as composed of *Gula* (the well-known Sumerian chthonic and healer-goddess) with a suffixed Semitic feminine-singular ending *-atu*.

Should this tentative proposal be vindicated, it would also suggest an identity for Eblaite *ʔA-gú*. In Mesopotamia, the mate of *Gula* was the god *Ninurta*. He was also considered to be the son of *Gula*, while *Enlil* was the father of both *Ninurta* and *Nergal*. Could Eblaite *ʔA-gú* be identified with *Ninurta*?

There are two curious references to the gods(!) *A-gú* in the plural, or dual, that suggest a possible link to the Sumerian *Ninurta*. In TM.75.G.427,⁸ we find no less than four references to the divine name *ʔA-gú-a-gú*,⁹ while in ARET 1 4 there is a listing of two individuals who are priests of the ‘2 *A-gú* gods’ (*ʔÀ-da-ša / Du-bí / šeš-II-ib / 2 dingir 2 A-gú*). The connection, if any, of this divine doublet name (*A-gú-a-gú*) to the pair *A-gú* and *Gu-la-du* is not known. But Mesopotamian

7. See D. Pardee, “Visiting Ditanu: The Text of RS 24.272,” *UF* 15 (1983) 127–40. For a full discussion of the subject, see G. del Olmo Lete, “The ‘Divine’ Names of the Ugaritic Kings,” *UF* 18 (1986) 83–95.

8. *AfO* 25 (1974–77) 2ff.

9. One should note the curious, if only coincidental, fact that the natives of Easter Island believed in guardian ancestor spirits of both male and female gender, which they termed *Aku-aku*, as first reported by Thor Heyerdahl in his book bearing that title (1957; English edition, 1958).

myths do suggest an explanation for the “2 A-gú gods”: Ninurta was considered the twin brother of the god Nusku. It may well be, therefore, that the “2 A-gú gods” are the Eblaite counterparts to the Sumerian twins Ninurta and Nusku.

The listing of the three divine pairs in ARET 7 150 can now be understood as indicating, in rank order, the three primary pairs of the pantheon—the father (*Adānu*) and his two sons (*Rašap* and ^dA-gú) with their three consorts—who played the leading role in the rituals connected with the worship of the deceased kings of Ebla.

In other texts we find references to a ritual termed the *si-dù-si-dù / en-en*, which was performed in the ‘garden’ or ‘cemetery’ (GIŠ.kiri₆) of the palace. A primary feature of this event was also the offering of sheep.¹⁰ It would appear that this was the cultic name of the ritual in honor of the dead and divinized rulers of Ebla (namely, the *en-en*), who are actually listed in ARET 7 150. The lexical texts of Ebla do provide the translation of Sumerian *si-dù-si-dù* as Eblaite *di-mu-mu*, most likely from the root *DMM* ‘to be still, to yearn for’.¹¹ The name of this ritual could thus be rendered “The Yearnings for the (Deceased) Kings” or “The Royalty Lamentations.”

A fourth divine pair intimately connected with the cult of the dead kings is the couple ^dKu-ra ù ^dBa-ra-ma (ARET 3 178; note also ^dKu-ra wa ^dBa-ra-ma in ARET 3 419). The god Ku-ra is well known from the Ebla archives,¹² though we know little about this deity, especially since the name is unattested elsewhere in Bronze Age or Iron Age sources. Note, however, the reappearance of this deity, more properly to be spelled Qura, in debased form in late antique magical texts (Jewish and Syriac), as noted by C. H. Gordon.¹³

From ARET 3 178¹⁴ we know that the deities Ku-ra and Ba-ra-ma were the principal deities in a seven-day ritual termed the *sa-ba-tum / maḥ* ‘Greater Ša-ba⁴tum’. These liturgies were performed in the temple of Ku-ra at Ebla and its adjoining mausoleum called ‘The House of the Dead’ (*é ma-dīm/tim*).¹⁵ The Eblaite term *šaba⁴tum* is to be derived from the root ŠB⁶ ‘seven’, and as such is no doubt related to the Akkadian *sebûtu* ‘7th day (of the month)’¹⁶ and of course to Biblical Hebrew *šābûa⁶* ‘week’. A connection between the Eblaite word and Akkadian *šapattu* ‘15th day (of the month)’¹⁷ seems less likely to me.

10. See G. Pettinato, “Culto Ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-Sipiš,” *OA* 18 (1979) 131, 163, 168.

11. See Pettinato (ibid., 115 n. 159), who compares Eblaite *dimumu* to Akkadian *dimmatu* ‘lament’. Note the singular *si-dù en* in ARET 3 178 and in a fragment published by P. Fronzaroli (n. 14 below).

12. Thus ^dKu-ra is invoked with ^dUtu, Haddu, and the gods, in TM.75.G.1444 (*SEb* 4 [1984] 35–39), to serve as witness to a royal decree. See also MEE 4, VE no. 0190, where ^dKu-ra occurs as the Sumerian entry, though without an Eblaite equivalent.

13. C. H. Gordon, “Eblaite and Northwest Semitic,” *Eblaitica* 2 (1990) 130. On the other hand, this evidence does not invalidate the remark by E. Sollberger, ARET 8: 10: “The existence of this deity [i.e., Ku-ra, in his status as a god] outside Ebla is unknown to me.”

14. For a reconstruction and analysis of this text, see P. Fronzaroli, “Il culto dei re defunti in ARET 3:178,” in *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 1 (ed. P. Fronzaroli; Quaderni di Semitistica 15; Firenze, 1988) 1–33.

15. Ibid., 26.

16. Ibid., 19–20. Fronzaroli argues against other interpretations. On the Akkadian term, see *CAD* S 200, s.v. *sebûtu*.

17. *CAD* Š/1 449, s.v. *šapattu*.

In the Eblaite ritual called the Greater *Šabaʿtum*,¹⁸ various offerings were made to the divine pair Ku-ra and *Ba-ra-ma* and the former god was invoked by the epithet *igi-tùm*, or Eblaite *gú-ti-im* ‘Former One’, just as in Ugaritic mythology the Rephaim are invoked by the cognate term *qdmym* ‘Former Ones’.¹⁹

The fact that all four divine pairs that we have been discussing are connected with the rituals of the deceased kings of Ebla suggests that the cult of the divinized kingship was one of the more important creeds in the society of Ebla. The Ugaritic parallels that we have noted, although separated by more than a millennium from the rituals of Ebla, indicate just how tenaciously the theology of the divine dynasty was perpetuated in north Syria from the Early Bronze Age onward.

Other divine pairs occurring in the Ebla texts are encountered much less frequently than our first four copies. An interesting duo, attested only once as a couple, is found in the deities ^d*Wa-da-ʾà-an wa* ^d*Sa-a-sa* lú *Ga-ra-mu*^{K1} ‘*Wadaʿān(u)* and *Sa-a-sa* of Garamu’ in ARET 3 540.²⁰

The god *Wadaʿān(u)* seems to me to be the Eblaite ancestor of a Canaanite concept known in the Bible as *yidʿônî* ‘Familiar Spirit’,²¹ which was some sort of an ancestral spirit consulted in connection with the deceased (Deuteronomy 18:11). According to 2 Kings 21:6 this spirit could also be constructed, presumably represented by some icon. We should note here that in the Bible the term *yidʿônî* is always paired with *ʾôb* ‘Ghost’, the latter best known from the story about King Saul, the woman of En-dor, and the ghost of the prophet Samuel (1 Samuel 28).

The goddess *Sa-a-sa* of Garamu, who is presumably the consort of *Wadaʿān(u)*, is so far known only from this text. I suspect, however, that the equally obscure divine name ^d*Sí-la-šu* (TM.75.G.2075 rev. VI 5–11),²² may be a variant spelling of the name ^d*Sa-a-sa*, for we know from other cases that Eblaite /la/ may occasionally interchange with /a/. Thus, the divine name ^d*Á-a* (ARET 3 464) is also written ^d*Á-la* (ARET 3 232, etc.). Unfortunately, the variant names of the goddess do not shed any light on the identity of *Sa-a-sa* or *Sí-la-šu*.²³

Our sixth, and last, divine pair at Ebla is not connected with the hereafter, at least not directly. It concerns the sun-god and a sun-goddess. References to the sun-god ^dUtu are fairly common at Ebla, both in texts and in theophoric names, but there is one reference to ^dUtu.sal ‘Sun-goddess’ in ARET 3 637. Now, since the term for the sun-deity is always written as a Sumerogram, we do not know how it was pronounced, nor did we previously know its gender at Ebla.

18. Presumably there was also a ritual called *sa-ba-tum* tur ‘the Lesser *Šabaʿtum*’, or simply the *Šabaʿtum*.

19. Fronzaroli (“Il culto dei re defunti in ARET 3:178,” 16), who notes LL *igi-tùm* = *ga-ti-mu* (i.e., *qadimu*) and the Ugaritic *rpim qdmym*.

20. Note the variant ^d*Wa-da-ʾà-nu*^{K1}, with the place-name determinative, in TM.75.G.1764 (OA 18 [1979] 111).

21. Following the NJPSV. This term also appears in plural *yidʿônîm* (Leviticus 19:31, etc.).

22. Pettinato (“Culto Ufficiale ad Ebla,” 111) read this name ^d*Zi-la-šu*.

23. A connection between the Eblaite *Sa-a-sa/Sí-la-šu* and the Mesopotamian *Šá-la-aš* (K. N. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* [reprinted; Hildesheim/New York, 1974] 453), who was regarded as consort of Enlil, Dagan, or Adad, cannot yet be established.

In light of the reference to the goddess ^dUtu.sa1, we can now propose that ^dUtu in Eblaite theology was a male. In Semitic Mesopotamia, the consort of the sun-god Šamaš was the goddess Aya,²⁴ while at Ugarit the sun was the goddess Špš, whose consort remains unknown.²⁵ But in Iron Age Syria, we know from an Aramaic stele inscription at Sefire (KAI 222:a:9) that the consort of the Aramaic Šamaš was called Nūr(u) ‘Luminary’. The latter divine name appears at Ugarit in two variants: (1) in the title *nyr rbt* ‘Great (female) Luminary’, and (2) in the feminine form *nrt ilm* ‘Luminary of the Gods’, both being epithets of the Ugaritic sun-goddess.²⁶ At Ebla, the native names for both the sun-god and the sun-goddess still remain to be discovered.²⁷

Future publications of the Ebla texts will no doubt yield additional names of divine pairs worshiped in that Early Bronze Age kingdom in Syria. Hopefully, the finds will reveal more details concerning the mythology and genealogy of these deities. As we have seen, the worship of divine pairs was intimately connected with the cult of the deceased Eblaite kings, and it is therefore essential to study this nexus between the gods and the government, as revealed by the archives of Ebla.

24. In Mesopotamian sources, this name is written as A . a, which is to be read *Aya*; see *ibid.*, 245.

25. According to RS 24.244 (*Ugaritica* 5, no. 7), the goddess *phlt* ‘Mare’ and the god *ql-bl* were children of the sun-goddess. Their father is not mentioned.

26. On Ugaritic *nyr rbt*, see *UT* 125:37–38; for *nrt ilm*, see *UT* 49:IV:32, 41; 62:8–9, 11, 13.

27. The divine name that Pettinato read *Št-piš*, comparing it to Ugaritic Špš ‘sun-goddess’, is now usually read *Zi-kir*; see Sollberger, *ARET* 8: 11. This name is only attested in theophoric names.

The Deified Kings of Ebla

ROBERT R. STIEGLITZ

The numerous cuneiform texts unearthed at Tell Mardikh by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Syria record in remarkable detail many aspects of life in the city-state of Ebla at the end of the Early Bronze III period (2600–2350 B.C.). These well-preserved clay tablets, found in a complex termed by the excavators Royal Palace G, revealed truly far-reaching political and economic networks, maintained by an elaborate bureaucracy of officials. At the head of this powerful and wealthy state of Ebla was a ruler, whose title was written with the Sumerian ideogram *en* ‘king’.

In Mesopotamia, the title *en* was rendered primarily by the Akkadian word *bēlum* ‘lord’. Scholars sometimes translate this term ‘priest-king’, to distinguish it from the Sumerian royal title *lugal* (= Akkadian *šarrum*) ‘king’. At Ebla, however, the native reading of *en* was evidently **ma-lik*, which was the West-Semitic term for ‘king’.¹ This is a significant divergence from Mesopotamian practices. In the Ebla documents of the Early Bronze Age, we see the first official separation of traditions between West and East Semitic, between what would become in subsequent centuries the Canaanite-Phoenician civilization along the coast vis-à-vis the inland Assyro-Babylonian (Akkadian) culture.²

The Sumerian title *lugal* was also used in the Ebla texts, with two distinct meanings: (1) a royal title for some of the Mesopotamian rulers and (2) a designation for local officials (attested only in the plural), who were subordinates of the *en* of Ebla.³

1. See the arguments of P. Artzi (*Ebla 1975–1985* [ed. L. Cagni; Naples, 1987] 410) and I. M. Diakonoff (“The Importance of Ebla for History & Linguistics,” *Eblaitica* 2 [1990] 14) regarding the *en* of Ebla as ‘king’. E. Sollberger (ARET 8 54) cautiously accepted the notion, while M. J. Geller (“The *Lugal* of Mari at Ebla and the Sumerian King List,” *Eblaitica* 1 [1987] 141 n. 3) doubted that the ruler of Ebla was a king. The cult of the living ruler and that of his deceased and divinized ancestors leaves little doubt that the rulers were indeed kings.

2. Artzi, *Ebla 1975–85*, 411.

3. G. Pettinato (*The Archives of Ebla* [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981] 123) deduced that since there were 14 *lugal-lugal* ‘governors’ attested in several texts, the kingdom of Ebla was divided into 14 departments. Two of these were within the city and the remaining 12 were in the rest of the territory. This organization, if substantiated, would be the earliest forerunner to the “calendrical” division of the realm, as probably best known from Solomon’s kingdom (1 Kings 4:7). On the Eblaite reading of *lugal* as *ba’lum*, see A. Archi (ARES 1 210 n. 20), who notes, however, that the number of these officials at Ebla ranged between 11 and 15 or even higher.

It was not used, however, to refer to the king of Ebla. In the Sumerian-Eblaite lexical lists found in the Ebla archives, we find the equation *nam-en* = *ma-li-gú-um*, in which the Eblaite term is to be read *\malikum* 'kingship', with a long medial vowel (while the similar word for 'king' would have a short vowel or was pronounced *\malku*). An exact analogy to this situation is provided by the Ugaritic term *mlk* 'kingship' and *mlk* 'king', written *ma-al-ku* in the polyglot vocabulary texts from Ugarit.

The Eblaite term for king *\malik* is actually attested in an economic text, ARET 4 24 (17), an inventory of garments assigned to several people. One of these persons was *I-mi-ir-NI ma-lik I-za-rí-lum.KI* 'PN king of GN'. Another such example is probably the entry in ARET 8 526 (9), where the partially broken text reads [. . .] *ma-lik A-ra-ʿa-du.KI* '(PN?) king of GN'.⁴ While the syllabic spelling for 'king' is extremely rare in the Eblaite administrative texts—the logogram *en* being the common writing—the element *-ma-lik* is found frequently in a great variety of Eblaite personal names. The Mesopotamian element *lugal/šarru*, by contrast, is quite rare in the onomastica of Ebla, a fact that also points to a dichotomy between East and West Semitic cultural traditions.

The king, together with his rather extensive family, dominated all major political, economic, and religious activities of the city-state by means of an elaborate hierarchy of officials. The consort of the ruler, particularly prominent in religious affairs, was the primary wife of the king, whose title was *ma-lik-tum* 'queen'.⁵ Other royal wives were designated simply *dam en* 'woman of the king'. These ladies were grouped into two ranks: *dam-maḥ en* 'senior royal wife' and *dam-en tur* 'junior royal wife'.⁶ The mother of the king (*ama-gal en*) was also an important court figure, as were his siblings (*šeš en* 'brother of the king' and *nin-ni en* 'sister of the king').

The offspring of the king were designated by the titles *dumu-nita en* 'prince' and *dumu-mí en* 'princess'. Like the royal ladies, they were also grouped into the two ranks of senior (*dumu-nita/mí maḥ en*) or junior (*dumu-nita/mi en tur*). An unusual designation, *dumu-nita maliktum* 'son of the queen', is attested very rarely. Perhaps it designated the privileged princes of the primary wife, from whose rank a crown prince was chosen.⁷

It is apparent from the texts that the traditions of monarchy were already well established at Ebla long before these documents were composed. The various archives preserved in Royal Palace G, namely, L.2586, L.2712, L.2752, L.2764, L.2769, and L.2875, contained administrative texts that spanned a period of at least three gener-

4. Sollberger (ARET 8 30) understood *ma-lik* in this text to be a personal name.

5. The term *nin ki* is found twice in TM.75.G.1444 (*SEb* 4 [1981] 35–59), but its meaning remains enigmatic. One would expect *nin* to be the ideogram for 'queen'.

6. There is extensive literature on the royal women of Ebla. See H. Waetzoldt, in *Ebla* 1975–85, 365–77; Archi, *ARES* 1 245–59; and M. V. Tonietti, *MisEb* 2 79–115.

7. I cannot agree with Archi (*ARES* 1 222) that this title designated sons of second-rank wives. Of the two princes designated 'sons of the queen' in TM.75.G.10074, namely, *Maš-da-ù* and *Íl-ʿa-ak-Da-mu*, the latter seems to have been designated crown prince and probably ascended to the throne of Ebla.

ations of rulers. But the ritual texts found among these documents provide evidence that the traditions of the monarchy were much older. Indeed, it seems that the kingship was already centuries old when the great royal residence of Ebla was destroyed by fire. The primary evidence for this conclusion are the references to the worship of a long line of deceased former kings of Ebla.

The evidence that the deceased kings of Ebla were deified and worshiped in rather elaborate rituals comes from a group of offerings lists and ritual texts, which refer by name to the deceased and deified former rulers (see below). One of these texts (ARET 3 178, analyzed in detail by Pelio Fronzaroli)⁸ describes a series of rituals performed for the departed ruler. In this ceremony, the new king (en gibil) offered sacrifices at a mausoleum (é *ma-dím*), and the names of several deceased rulers were invoked.

Other texts enumerate offerings made by various members of the royal family to dingir en ‘the god of the king’ and to dingir A.MU(-sù) ‘the god of (his) father’.⁹ It is significant that in the former case the king himself did not sacrifice to his own god, while in the latter case the king did present offerings to the god of his deceased father. The lexical equation dingir en = *ma-’à-um* does not enable us to determine the exact nature of this ‘god of the king’, since the meaning of the Eblaite term *ma-’à-um* is still obscure.¹⁰

Before the discovery of the Ebla tablets, the worship of deceased and divinized kings in Syria was best known from the archives of the kingdom of Ugarit, on the coast of northern Syria, located some 100 km west of Ebla. The Ugaritic documents (dated ca. 1400–1200 B.C.) provided both ritual texts and abundant mythological compositions, which demonstrated that the rulers of Ugarit bore—in addition to their political titles—several ritual names. These cultic titles linked the sovereigns of Ugarit to the spirits of their departed ancestors.¹¹ The Ebla archives now extend this royal tradition in Syria back to the first half of the third millennium B.C.

The initial effort to reconstruct the historical dynasty of Ebla was made by Giovanni Pettinato,¹² the first epigrapher of the Italian expedition to Ebla. He proposed a sequence of five kings, of which the last two were particularly prominent in numerous administrative texts. While duly noting that only the first two of these names were actually attested bearing the title en *Ebla* ‘king of Ebla’, Pettinato nevertheless suggested that the period of the archives spanned the reigns of five rulers, whom he arranged in the following historical order:

1. Igriš-Ḫalam
2. Irkab-Damu
3. Ar-Ennum

8. P. Fronzaroli, in *MisEb* 1 1–33.

9. See A. Archi, “The Cult of the Ancestors and the Tutelary God at Ebla,” in *Fucus: A Semitic/Afroasian Gathering in Remembrance of Albert Ehrman* (ed. Y. L. Arbeitman; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1988) 103–12.

10. G. Conti (*MisEb* 3 192) suggested reading this word /maḥḥalum/ ‘(il luogo del) riposo’(?).

11. G. del Olmo Lete, *UF* 18 (1986) 83–95.

12. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla*, 69ff.

4. Ebrium
5. Ibbi-Sipiš

Subsequent investigations, however, did not conform this proposal. Indeed, only the first two persons proved to be former rulers of Ebla. In his study of internal dating in the economic texts, Francesco Pomponio¹³ pointed to major difficulties in accepting the others. He suggested, instead, that the last three persons were not kings of Ebla at all. Alfonso Archi, Pettinato's successor as epigrapher of the expedition, was at first inclined to accept the proposed sequence of five rulers, but in his later studies he too concluded that ArruLUM (= Ar-Ennum), Ibrium (= Ebrium), and Ibbi-Zikir (= Ibbi-Sipiš) were not actually kings of Ebla.¹⁴ Our task here is not to dwell on the exact role of these three persons in the administration of Palace G but rather to examine the evidence for a long line of rulers who reigned before the last king of that palace.

The principal source for the reconstruction of the king list of Ebla is a curious document, TM.74.G.120 (ARES 1 213), which we shall designate the Ebla King List (EKL). The text, found in Archive L.2586, was first identified by Pettinato as a school exercise.¹⁵ It is a simple list of 72 personal names, which may be divided into two parts: (1) a group of 33 diverse names, beginning with *Iš₁₁-ar-Da-mu* and ending with *Sa-kum-e*, and (2) a series of 39 additional names, divided into eight sections, which are arranged according to the first element of the name. The second part begins with *Du-bi* and concludes with *Ib-ḥur-Ma-lik*. The identity of the 39 persons named in these eight groups of the second part and their relationship, if any, to the first part of the list is not known.

The document has neither heading, colophon, nor any other notation that would shed light on the meaning of this list. However, the 2d and 3d names in part one of the EKL are known with certainty, from the administrative tablets, to have been kings of Ebla. Thus, it is not unreasonable to assume that this part of the text is a king list. It was not arranged for chronological purposes, since no regnal years are noted, but instead seems to have served as a ritual canon of deceased kings. Indeed, the extraordinary historical significance of this document can be determined from other texts, which strongly suggest that all 33 names in the first part are those of deceased kings of Ebla, listed here in reverse historical order (table 1).

The first name on this list is *Iš²ar-Damu*, who is known from several texts as a prominent prince of Ebla. Evidently he ascended to the throne after *Irgab-Damu*¹⁶—

13. F. Pomponio, in *Ebla 1975–85*, 254ff.

14. On his early view, see Archi (*Eblaitica* 1 [1987] 134), according to whom the last four rulers of Palace G were: Irkab-Damu, Arennum, Ibrium, and Ibbi-Zikir. In ARES 1 211–12, Archi demonstrated that the last three of these were never sovereigns of Ebla. See also B. Kienast and H. Waetzoldt, *Eblaitica* 2 (1990) 55.

15. G. Pettinato, *Or* 44 (1975) 369–71; A. Archi (*ZA* 76 [1986] 217 n. 20), following this view, called the text a *Schülerübung*. If it was merely an exercise, it was surely a copy of an official “master-list” of the deceased and divinized kings of Ebla.

16. My reading of this name as *Ír-gáb-Da-mu* rather than the common form, *Irkab-Damu*, is based on the Ugaritic divinized ritual names *Yrgb-B⁴l*, *Yrgb-Lim* in RS 24.246 (= *Ugaritica* 5.14) and in *UT* 62:57.

probably his father—had passed away. This also means that this text was composed either when he was still ruler of Ebla or, more likely in my opinion, soon after his death, during the reign of his successor. This unknown king was presumably the last ruler of the dynasty that ruled in Palace G. There is some circumstantial textual evidence suggesting that the last monarch was *Irʿak-Damu* (also written *Ilʿak-Damu*), well known as a prince from the economic texts.

Table 1
The First Part of the EKL (Names nos. 1–33)

Orthography	Normalization	Meaning
1. Iš ₁₁ -ar-Da-mu	\Yišʿar-Damu\	DN has decided
2. ʾr-gáb-Da-mu	\Yirgab-Damu\	DN as ?
3. Ig-rí-iš-Ḥa-lam	\Yigriš-Ḥalam\	DN has expelled
4. A-dub-Da-mu	\ʿAdub-Damu\	Prepare, O DN!
5. Kum-Da-mu	\Qum-Damu\	Arise, O DN!
6. I-šar-Da-mu	\Yišar-Damu\	DN is righteous
7. En-àr-Da-mu	\Yinḥar-Damu\	DN has smitten
8. Ba-ga-Da-mu	\Paqaḥ-Damu\	Be vigilant, O DN!
9. I-bí-Da-mu	\Yibbiʿ-DN\	DN has called
10. A-gur-Li-im	\ʿAqur-Lim\	Uproot, O DN!
11. A-bur-Li-im	\ʿAbur-Lim\	Cross, O DN!
12. Ri-da-Li-im	\Rida-Lim\	Descend, O DN!
13. Ik-su-ud	\Yikšud\	(DN) has attained
14. Iš ₁₁ -ru ₁₂ -ud-Ḥa-lam	\Yišrud-Ḥalam\	DN has ?
15. I-si-du		
16. Iš ₁₁ -ru ₁₂ -ud-Da-mu	\Yišrud-Damu\	DN has ?
17. I-bí-ni-Li-im	\Yibbiʿni-Lim\	DN has called me
18. [D]a-NE-u[m]?		
19. Sa-[gi]-s[u]	\Sagisu\	(DN) has killed
20. Da-[x]-x		
21. Na-ma-nu	\Naʿmanu\	(DN) is pleasant
22. EN-ma-nu		
23. ZI-a-lu		
24. [Sa!]-mi-ù ^a		
25. AŠ-sa-nu		
26. Kul-ba-nu	\Kulban\	eponymous!?
27. Ib-la	\Ebla\	eponymous!?
28. Du-mu-dar		
29. NAM-NE-la-nu		
30. A-bù-gàr		
31. La-da-u		
32. Š[u?]-x-[. . .]		
33. Sa-kum-e		

a. I reconstruct this name based on the appearance of the name ^d*Sa-mi-ù* in ARET 9 17 (13), which I take to be that of a divinized king, not a god.

Perhaps the most interesting name in this list of rulers is the name *Ebla* (no. 27), written as it is without the place-name determinative (KI). We probably have here the eponymous ancestor after whom the kingdom of *Ebla.KI* was named. This tradition is well known from later Near Eastern texts and, of course, the biblical narratives. The successor of Ebla, Kulbanu (no. 26), may also have been an eponymous ancestor of the town that is known from the administrative texts as *Kul-ba-an.KI*.

As noted above, the EKL itself does not identify these names, but there is a small group of related documents that has shed some light on this issue. These texts, which we shall term sources A–K are listed in fig. 2. They are either offering lists (A–F) or ritual texts (G–K), each enumerating from one to ten names of divinized kings of Ebla:

Table 2
Cultic Texts Listing Divinized Kings of Ebla

A	75.2628	ARET 7 150	offerings, lists 10 names
B	75.570	ARET 9 17	offerings, lists 4 names ^a
C	75.1764	OA 18 136	offerings, lists 1 name
D	75.2075	OA 18 150	offerings, lists 1 name
E	75.2238	OA 18 169	offerings, lists 1 name
F	75.10167	ARES 1 214	offerings, lists 1 name
G	75.3483	ARET 3 419	rituals, lists 1+ names ^b
H	75.3205+	ARET 3 178	rituals, lists 4 names ^c
I	75.4828+	<i>MisEb</i> 1 4	rituals, lists 4 names ^d
J	75.1823	ARES 1 214	rituals, list 4 names
K	75.1939	ARES 1 214	rituals, lists 4 names

a. L. Milano (ARET 9 58) recognized three names of divinized rulers in this text. I also include that of *Sa-mi-u*.

b. The text is fragmentary and may have contained other names of former kings.

c. On a very plausible restoration of this fragmentary text, see Fronzaroli, *MisEb* 1 1–33. Three names of monarchs, corresponding to nos. 16, 17, and 19 of the EKL, are wholly or partially preserved in ARET 3 178. The missing name (no. 18) is *[D]a-NE-u[m]?* in the EKL, but Fronzaroli (p. 31) suggests reading the name of this king *'Da¹-ne-'lu¹*.

d. A small fragment of a large ritual text; see the photo in *MisEb* 1 7.

In these eleven documents, the former rulers are invariably listed with the divine determinative (dingir) written before their name, the god-sign usually being placed in a separate case. An exception is found in source B, in which the god-sign is writ-

ten in the same case as the names of the rulers.¹⁷ There can be little doubt that the phrase *dingir PN* in these texts must mean ‘the god of (the deceased) PN’.¹⁸

Now, the names of *all* of the divinized kings in these various offering/ritual texts also appear in the first part of the EKL. Furthermore, when more than one king is listed in these texts, the sequence of names is either identical to that of the EKL or follows a reversed (that is, historical) order. This is certainly not coincidental. These offering/ritual listings reinforce the view that the first 33 names in the EKL represent a reversed chronological listing of the dynasty or, more likely, of the dynasties of Ebla.

Table 3
Divinized Kings Mentioned in Cultic Texts

<i>EKL No.</i>	<i>Offering Texts</i>						<i>Ritual Texts</i>				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
2	+										
3	+										
4	+										
5	+										
6	+	+									
7	+	+	+	+	+						
8	+	+									
9	+										
10	+										
11	+										
16								+	+	+	+
17								[+]	[+]	+	+
18								[+]	[+]	[+]	[+]
19							+	+	+	+	+
22						+					
24		+									

If the assumption about the nature of the EKL is substantiated, it has far-reaching historical significance, for the EKL records that 33 rulers reigned before the last king of Palace G. The chronological implications of this list, if we assume a modest average of 20 years per reign, are that the traditions of monarchy at Ebla began some 660

17. Milano, ARET 9 58, restores the name of king no. 8 as [*Ba?-Da?-*]mu, following the spelling in ARET 7 150, while noting the variant *Ba-ga-Da-mu* in the EKL. But surely the latter is the correct version, while the writing in ARET 7 150 is a defective variant. We should note here that the name of king no. 5, *Ig-rí-iš-Ḥa-lam*, is also written defectively in ARET 7 150 as *Ig-rí-iš-LAM*.

18. See Archi, “The Cult of the Ancestors and the Tutelary God at Ebla,” 104–5.

years before the demise of the city, about 2400 B.C. The first king thus reigned at Ebla in the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, approximately 3100 B.C.

If we arrange the names of the deceased kings listed in the offering/ritual texts in table format, we can discern a specific pattern, as seen in table 3. The attested names of deceased kings are not distributed at random, nor are they more or less representative of the entire list of 33 names in the first part of the EKL. Rather, a curious clustering occurs around two groups of names—namely, the last ten deceased kings of Ebla (nos. 2–11) and a group of four earlier kings (nos. 16–19). In addition, there are two other names mentioned, those of still earlier rulers (nos. 22 and 24).

The references in the first group cluster around the name *EN-àr-Da-mu* (king no. 7), while the other grouping involves the sequence *Sa-gi-su* to *Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-Da-mu* (kings nos. 16–19). The first group, which records the names of kings nos. 2–11, is found only in offering texts. The ritual texts, on the other hand, deal only with a specific sequence of the same four rulers—namely, kings nos. 16–19. In addition, as we noted, there are sporadic references to other rulers, the most ancient king mentioned being *Sa-mi-ù* (no. 24).

At present we cannot properly evaluate the significance of these groupings, for the two clusters are not sequential, and we have no other data about these former rulers of Ebla. It is also difficult to explain the disproportionately frequent number of references to *En-àr-Da-mu*. Perhaps they indicate that he was worshiped for notable achievements or that he was the founder of the dynasty of Ebla that was ruling at that particular time. It may be, of course, that these groupings are not significant historically and are merely the result of the limited number of preserved texts. Hopefully, additional discoveries will enable us to confirm the hypothesis that the 33 names in part I of the EKL are indeed those of the deceased and deified kings of Ebla.

Metrological *PRS*-Terms from Ebla to Mishna

AL WOLTERS

0. Introduction

0.1. It has long been known from rabbinic sources that the noun *pěṛās* was used in Mishnaic Hebrew as a metrological term, designating a unit of weight and length. The epigraphic discoveries of the last century and a half have shown that cognate metrological terms were used in other ancient Semitic languages as well, including Phoenician, Aramaic, Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Eblaite. It is the purpose of this essay to survey the evidence for these *PRS*-terms, to supplement and correct previous discussions, and to point out some overall patterns in their use over the three millennia in which they are attested.

0.2. We will proceed in a roughly chronological order, discussing the *PRS*-terms in seven different languages or language divisions, beginning with Eblaite and ending with Mishnaic Hebrew. We will observe that within any given language these terms as a rule designate either a unit of *capacity* or a unit of *weight*. The one exception to this rule is *pěṛās* in Mishnaic Hebrew, which is attested as a unit of length as well.

0.3. As a preliminary comment, we should point out that *PRS* as a verb meaning ‘divide’ or ‘separate’ is attested in many Semitic languages. The corresponding nominal forms could readily acquire the meaning ‘division’ and were therefore natural candidates for the designation of subdivisions of larger metrological units.

1. Eblaite

1.1. Our oldest documentation comes from the recently discovered language of Ebla, which seems to occupy a position between East Semitic and Northwest Semitic,

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although its lexicon appears to have stronger affinities with the latter.¹ Dated to the mid-third millennium B.C.,² the tablets of Ebla give evidence of a distinctive metrological system and terminology, in which *parisum* is a unit of capacity and **parsum* a unit of weight, both terms representing one-half of a larger unit.

1.2. *Capacity.* The term *parisum*, written syllabically, appears frequently in the texts from Ebla and designates a measure of capacity equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a *gubar*.³ Since a *gubar* was roughly equivalent to 20 liters, the *parisum* was about 10 liters.⁴ The word is used especially for rations of grain.⁵

1.3. *Weight.* There is also a common measure of weight that is equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mina, but this is regularly written logographically, using the sign TAR. Although this sign was originally transcribed as KU₅ by Pettinato,⁶ Archi is no doubt right to read it as TAR instead, since this is the only value for the sign otherwise attested for the third millennium.⁷ There are a number of reasons why this TAR probably should be read **parsum*:

(a) There is a semantic correspondence between Sumerian TAR and Semitic PRS, both of which lend themselves to the designation of a metrological subdivision. As Archi writes: "The sign TAR, which means to cut, divide, must be given the value of one-half a mina, that is, 30 shekels."⁸ Since the root PRS also conveys the idea of dividing, it could readily be represented by TAR.

1. On the intermediate position of Eblaite, see A. Archi, "Ebla and Eblaite," in *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language, Vol. 1* (ed. Cyrus H. Gordon, Gary A. Rendsburg, and Nathan H. Winter; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987) 15; and I. M. Diakonoff, "The Importance of Ebla for History and Linguistics," in *Eblaitica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language, Vol. 2* (ed. Cyrus H. Gordon and Gary A. Rendsburg; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 29.

2. See G. Pettinato, *The Archives of Ebla: An Empire Inscribed in Clay* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981) 72–73.

3. Ibid., 181. Cf. L. Milano, *Testi amministrativi: Assegnazioni di prodotti Alimentari (Archivio L. 2712—parte I)* (ARET 9; Rome: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 1990) 349–52.

4. On the value of the *gubar*, see H. Waetzoldt, in the article jointly authored by him and Burkhardt Kienast ("Zwölf Jahre Ebla: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme," in *Eblaitica* 2 [1990] 37), where 15 *gubar* are equated with "etwa 300 'Liter.'" Here I am setting aside the suggestion by Milano in ARET 9 349 that the Eblaite unit AN-ZAM₄ is equivalent to the Mesopotamian ŠILA of about 1 liter (which would yield a *gubar* of 60 or 72 liters), since this equivalence, in *absolute* terms, has not been demonstrated.

5. Cf. V. Davidovic, "The Women's Ration System in Ebla," *OA* 26 (1987) 300; and Milano, ARET 9 379, s.v. *ba-ri-zu*.

6. Pettinato, *Archives*, 181–82; and idem, *Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769* (MEE 2; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1980) xxv. So too Robert R. Stieglitz, "Ebla and Dilmun," *Eblaitica* 1 (1987) 43.

7. A. Archi, "Reflections on the System of Weights from Ebla," *Eblaitica* 1 (1987) 73 and passim. The reading KU₅, though still listed in R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (2d ed.; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981) 59–60 (under no. 12), has been abandoned in W. von Soden and W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar* (3d ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1976), whereas the latter work makes clear (p. 3, under no. 11) that TAR is well attested, from Old Akkadian onward. No other value is attested for the third millennium.

8. Archi, "Reflections," 73.

(b) In the bilingual vocabularies found at Ebla, one of the Eblaite equivalents for Sumerian KA.TAR is *bur-ra-zu-um a-pá-lu*,⁹ in which KA corresponds to *a-pá-lu*, and TAR corresponds to *bur-ra-zu-um*.¹⁰ Since the latter term may also be read as *pur-ra-sú-um*,¹¹ we here have explicit evidence that the sign TAR in Eblaite texts can be read as a PRS-term.¹²

(c) The sign in question, no. 12 in the standard sign lists, has been transcribed not only KU₅ and TAR but also KUD.¹³ As we shall see below (§2.8), this is the transcription that Hrozný and Powell gave the sign in the Obelisk of Maništušu, where it probably represents Old Akkadian *paras*, the absolute state of *parsum*, meaning ‘half’. If TAR/KUD was read in Old Akkadian as *parsum*, it is plausible that the same metrological sign was also read in contemporary Eblaite as **parsum*, especially since the meaning ‘half-mina’ in Eblaite would then correspond to the meaning ‘half’ in Old Akkadian.

(d) As we shall see, the standard word for ‘half-mina’ in later Northwest Semitic texts is also a PRS-term. This is documented for Old Aramaic (§4.5), Official Aramaic (§5.4), Phoenician (§6.1), and Mishnaic Hebrew (§7.2).

(e) The analogy with early Aramaic, where the capacity term */parīs/* (§§4.3, 5.2) is flanked by the weight term */pars/* (§§4.5, 5.6), suggests that the word for half-mina in Eblaite also followed the *qatl* nominal pattern. This pattern is well attested for Eblaite nouns and would yield the form **parsum*.¹⁴

1.4. The metrological value of the Eblaite mina, calculated on the basis of surviving weight stones, is about 470 grams.¹⁵ This is consistent with traditional mina values in ancient Mesopotamia, which are generally in the neighborhood of 500 grams,¹⁶ and yields a value for Eblaite **parsum* of slightly less than 250 grams.

9. G. Pettinato, *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769* (MEE 4; Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1982) 220, no. 195.

10. F. M. Fales, “A Survey of Two-Word Eblaic Entries in the Bilingual Vocabularies,” in *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 13; Florence: Istituto di Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Università di Firenze, 1984) 176. Note that other versions of the bilingual lexical list give only *bù-ra-zu-um* (no doubt to be read *pursum*) as equivalent of KA-tar (Pettinato, *Testi lessicali*, 220, no. 195).

11. Note that the sign BUR can be read *pur* as well as *bur*, and the sign ZU can be read *sú* as well as *zu*. See Borger, *Zeichenliste*, nos. 349 and 6. In both cases, these alternative readings go back to Old Akkadian; see von Soden and Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, nos. 199 and 5.

12. See M. Krebernik, “Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla, Teil 1,” *ZA* 72 (1982) 214; and especially idem, “Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla, Teil 2 (Glossar),” *ZA* 73 (1983) 8.

13. See Borger, *Zeichenliste*, 59. See also von Soden and Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, 3, under no. 11, which indicates that the reading KUD is attested from Middle Babylonian onward.

14. On *qatl* nouns in Eblaite, see Pettinato, *Archives*, 61; and P. Fronzaroli, “The Eblaic Lexicon: Problems and Appraisal,” in *Studies on the Language of Ebla* (ed. P. Fronzaroli; QdS 13; Florence: Istituto di Linguistica e di Lingue Orientali, Università di Firenze, 1984) 117–57, especially pp. 153–57, where we find examples like *ʾaklum*, *ḥablum*, *lamnum*, *paršum*, and many more.

15. See Archi, “Reflections,” 47–49.

16. See M. A. Powell, “Masse und Gewichte,” *RLA* 7.509.

1.5 In connection with our discussion below of *parsum* in archaic Akkadian (§2.6.1), it is significant that in the Eblaite texts TAR/**parsum* as a designation for $\frac{1}{2}$ mina is occasionally replaced by MAŠ, the logogram for $\frac{1}{2}$.¹⁷

2. Akkadian

2.1. The standard metrological vocabulary of Akkadian does not include PRS-terms; witness their absence from Powell's detailed article on "Masse und Gewichte" in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*.¹⁸ We do find examples in early and peripheral Akkadian, but they are quite rare. Furthermore, their identification is complicated by the fact that the cuneiform sign PA, which is sometimes to be read as *parīsu*, has three distinct metrological uses, each indicating a different measure of capacity:

(a) In standard Akkadian the sign PA is the logogram for '2 BÂN'.¹⁹ Since one BÂN/*sūtu* was generally the equivalent of about 10 liters, the value of 2 BÂN was about 20 liters.²⁰

(b) In the Akkadian of Alalah and Ugarit, the sign PA is often the syllabogram *pa*, and functions as the acrophonic spelling of *parīsu*. This measure was probably the equivalent of about 15 liters (see below, §§2.2, 2.3).

(c) In the Hittite texts of Boğazköy (17th to 13th centuries), the sign PA represents *PARĪSU* (Hittite reading unknown).²¹ Since this term functions as part of a distinctively Hittite metrological system, it must not be confused with the *parīsu* in Akkadian texts.²² Failure to recognize this point has repeatedly led scholars astray.²³ The autonomy of the Hittite system is illustrated by the fact that the value of its *PARĪSU* appears to be in the neighborhood of 50 liters²⁴ and that it is not only a dry measure but also a liquid measure and a unit of weight.²⁵

17. Archi, "Reflections," 73. As Archi points out, this is an unusual substitution, since MAŠ in the Eblaite texts usually designates a half-shekel.

18. See Powell, "Masse und Gewichte," 504. Note that PRS-terms are also absent from the list of metrological terms in Borger, *Zeichenliste*, 374–75.

19. See *ibid.*, 120, under sign no. 295.

20. Powell, "Masse und Gewichte," 504.

21. See G. F. del Monte, "Metrologia Hittita I: Le misure di capacità per aridi," *OA* 19 (1980) 220; and T. P. J. van den Hout, "Masse und Gewichte: Bei den Hethitern," *RLA* 7.525.

22. See *ibid.*, 517, where the following is said on the question of the possible dependence of Hittite weights and measures on the Babylonian and Assyrian ones: "Positive Hinweise auf Abhängigkeit bietet nur die Übernahme mancher mesopotamischen Termini; Hinweise auf gleichen Inhalt gibt es allerdings nicht. Soweit ersichtlich, scheinen die Hethiter die Termini hingegen mit einem eigenen Wert versehen zu haben."

23. See, for example, D. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953) 14–15 (cited in KB, "Zusätze," 206); I. Singer, "Takuḫlinu and Ḫaya: Two Governors in the Ugarit Letter from Tel Aphek," *Tel Aviv* 10 (1983) 4; W. H. van Soldt, "Labels from Ugarit," *UF* 21 (1989) 381 n. 34; and *idem*, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991) 514 n. 111.

24. Van den Hout, "Masse und Gewichte," 524.

25. See del Monte, "Metrologia Hittita," 219–20, 226; and van den Hout, "Masse und Gewichte," 522–25.

In what follows we will deal only with *PRS*-terms that occur in Semitic contexts. We are thus setting aside both the Akkadian logogram for 2 BÂN and the Hittite *PARĪSU*.

2.2. *Capacity.* As we have just indicated, the Akkadian used in Alalah has a measure of capacity called *parīsu*, frequently abbreviated *pa*.²⁶ The word is attested 31 times in Alalah, all but 2 of them in the Old Babylonian texts of Level VII (18th–17th century).²⁷ According to Wiseman, *parīsu* in the Alalah texts occurs exclusively “in the ration lists where grain is distributed” and after the fifteenth century is replaced as the basic unit of grain measurement by the more familiar Akkadian *qû* measure (absolute *qa*).²⁸ There seems to be no measure of grain that is a multiple of *parīsu* (like Eblaite *gubar*), since even very large quantities are measured in *parīsu*-units.²⁹ Von Soden gives *parīsu* the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ *kor* or *kurru* (the equivalent of about 150 liters), but this can hardly be correct.³⁰ The exact value of the *parīsu* is unknown, but it seems reasonable to assume that it was the same as the value of *parīsu* in neighboring Ugarit.

2.3. In the tablets discovered at Ugarit, the word *parīsu* is attested in both Akkadian and Ugaritic texts. Confusingly, the Akkadian texts sometimes use the sign PA to represent ‘2 BÂN’ and sometimes to represent *pa* for *parīsu*.³¹ The *parīsu* in both languages no doubt had the same metrological value, since the Akkadian abbreviation *pa* is also used in a Ugaritic context.³² Since the Ugaritic */parīsu/* was apparently about 15 liters (see below, §3.1), it seems safe to adopt the same value for the Akkadian term.

2.4. *Weight.* Whereas the evidence for Akkadian *parīsu* as a unit of capacity is firmly established, at least in western texts, the same cannot be said for a putative Akkadian *parsum* or *parsu* as a unit of weight. Although it is often claimed that the Aramaic weight designation *prs* (‘half-mina’) derives from an Akkadian *parsu*,³³

26. See Wiseman, *Alalakh Tablets*, 14–15; G. Giacomakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970) 94; and *AHw*, s.v.

27. All 31 examples are listed in Giacomakis, *Akkadian of Alalah*, 94.

28. Wiseman, *Alalakh Tablets*, 15.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *AHw*, s.v. *parīsu* II has ‘ $\frac{1}{2}$ Kor’, possibly dependent on C. Virolleaud, “Etats nominatifs et pièces comptables provenant de Ras-Shamra,” *Syria* 18 (1937) 165–66. Since the standard value of a *kurru* in the second millennium was about 300 liters (Powell, “Masse und Gewichte,” 494, 497, pace *AHw*, s.v. *kurru*[m]), the *parīsu* on this reckoning would have been equivalent to about 150 liters. For criticisms of *AHw* on this point, see Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 80 n. 254; and del Monte, “Metrologia Hittita,” 219.

31. See J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 377.

32. See *KTU* 4.38. On this text, and its use of the Akkadian abbreviation *pa*, see Virolleaud, “Etats nominatifs,” 163–66; and P. Vargyas, “Le *muḏu* à Ugarit: Ami du roi?” *UF* 13 (1981) 167.

33. E.g., *DISO*, s.v. The claim is especially made in connection with the term *pērēs* in Biblical Aramaic; see Böhl, “Daniel,” *RLA* 2.118, and the relevant entries in Gesenius and Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (17th ed.; Leipzig: Vogel, 1915); KB; F. Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983) 58 (§188); E. Vogt, *Lexicon Linguae Aramaicae Veteris Testamenti Documentis Antiquis Illustratum* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971).

there is no evidence that the *parsu* was ever used to designate a specific weight in Akkadian.

2.5. The one apparent exception to this general rule is found in an Akkadian text that in fact reflects non-Akkadian metrological terminology. F. Pomponio has published a very old contract text, roughly contemporaneous with the Ebla tablets, that turns out to use the same distinctive system of weights as the system attested in Ebla.³⁴ As part of this system, it uses the sign TAR (transcribed as KU₅ by Pomponio) as a unit of weight equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ mina.³⁵ Since the Akkadian text in question is chronologically close to the Eblaite material and may well have come from the Syrian area³⁶ (if not indeed from Ebla itself),³⁷ it is probable that its TAR represents the Eblaite **parsum*, incorporated into an Akkadian text in order to express the Eblaite system of weights. As Pomponio notes, this use of the sign TAR/KU₅ to represent a half-mina seems to occur nowhere else in Mesopotamian texts.³⁸

2.6. If we disregard a number of mistaken readings from the early days of Assyriology,³⁹ the only other evidence for *parsu* as a metrological unit in Akkadian is found in an archaic expression for ‘ $\frac{1}{6}$ shekel’ and in the word for ‘ $\frac{5}{6}$ ’. Since the absolute state is frequently used for numbers and measures,⁴⁰ the word in both cases appears as *paras*, the absolute state of *parsum*.

2.6.1. The expression NA₄ *pár-ras* MIN appears in the second column of the lexical list HAR-*gud*, corresponding to Sumerian na₄.igi.6.gál.la in the first column and the later Akkadian *suddû* in the third column, both of which mean ‘[weight stone of] $\frac{1}{6}$ shekel’.⁴¹ The expression in the second column, which represents the archaic Akkadian that is elucidated in the third, should be read ‘weight stone of half a little mina’.⁴² Since we know from other sources that a ‘little mina’ (MA.NA TUR/*manû šaḥru*) is $\frac{1}{3}$ of a shekel,⁴³ this cumbersome archaic term designates $\frac{1}{6}$ of a shekel, which matches the corresponding entries in the first and third columns. We can be sure that *paras* (the reading that is to be preferred over *pár-ras*)⁴⁴ means ‘half’ be-

34. F. Pomponio, “AO 7754 ed il sistema ponderale di Ebla,” *OA* 19 (1980) 171–86.

35. *Ibid.*, 173, 178.

36. *Ibid.*, 172.

37. So I. J. Gelb, “Thoughts about Ibla: A Preliminary Evaluation, March 1977,” *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 1 (1977) 23, as cited in Pomponio, “Sistema ponderale,” 171.

38. *Ibid.*, 178.

39. In the 1870s a number of scholars read the sign MAŠ as *barsu* or *parsu* (*paras*). See, for example, George Smith, “On Assyrian Weights and Measures,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 10 (1872) 110–11; and Jules Oppert, “L’*étalon* des mesures assyriennes,” *JA* 7/4 (1874) 431.

40. See GAG §62d; and Arthur Ungnad, *Grammatik des Akkadischen: Völlig neubearbeitet von Lubor Matouš* (5th ed.; Munich: Beck, 1969) 56 (§43d).

41. See *MSL* 10:32 (line 98); and M. A. Powell, “Ancient Mesopotamian Weight Metrology: Methods, Problems and Perspectives,” in *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones* (ed. M. A. Powell and R. H. Sack; AOAT 203; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979) 95; cf. M. A. Powell, *Sumerian Numeration and Metrology* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1971) 215.

42. The MIN or ‘ditto’ sign should be taken as repeating the two words MA.NA *šeḥri*, immediately above it in the second column (so Powell, “Weight Metrology,” 95, disagreeing with CAD, s.v. *abnu* 4i).

43. See Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 217; idem, “Weight Metrology,” 97–98; idem, “Masse und Gewichte,” 510.

44. This is the reading favored by von Soden in *AHW*, s.v. *suddû*; and Powell, “Weight Metrology,” 95.

cause another recension of the same text substitutes for it the sign MAŠ, the standard logogram for $\frac{1}{2}$ (*mišil*).⁴⁵ (As noted above [§1.5] the same substitution is occasionally attested for Eblaite TAR/**parsum*.) *Paras* therefore seems to be a rare archaic term for ‘half’, perhaps comparable to ‘moiety’ in contemporary English. According to Powell, the phrase in which it occurs “may have gone out of existence in the OB period or even earlier.”⁴⁶

2.6.2. The other place where the notion of $\frac{1}{6}$ of a shekel is expressed as the *paras* of a little mina is a text from Nuzi (15th–14th century B.C.). As Zaccagnini has shown, tablet HSS 15 228 has the term *para(s)šeḫru*, which corresponds to a term which he reads as *pār-šeḫru* in the parallel tablet HSS 15 229.⁴⁷ Although Zaccagnini took both terms to mean ‘a small fraction’ and to be equivalent to $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel, Powell is no doubt right to interpret the second term (written logographically as MAŠ TUR) as $\frac{1}{2}$ TUR—that is, *mišil šeḫru*, an abbreviation for ‘half a small [mina]’ or $\frac{1}{6}$ shekel.⁴⁸ In other words, this is a second case in which the archaic *para(s)* in Akkadian is replaced by the sign MAŠ in the compound name for $\frac{1}{6}$ shekel. It is clear that in both cases *paras* does not itself designate a weight unit but simply means ‘half’. This meaning could easily have developed from *paras*, understood to mean ‘first division’.⁴⁹ It is not uncommon for a noun meaning ‘half’ to derive from a root meaning ‘divide’.⁵⁰

2.6.3. Apart from these two isolated cases in which *paras* means ‘half’, the word survives in later Akkadian only in another compound term, namely *parasrab*, the standard word for the fraction $\frac{5}{6}$. This puzzling designation should probably be explained, not just as ‘the big fraction’⁵¹ (or *grosses Abgeteiltes*),⁵² but specifically as the counterpart of *para(s)šeḫru* in the sense of ‘ $\frac{1}{6}$ of a shekel’. If we assume that this abbreviation came to be understood as ‘little *paras*’ and came to be equated with the fraction $\frac{1}{6}$, then it is not difficult to see how a ‘big *paras*’ would come to mean $\frac{5}{6}$ —the largest *paras*-fraction counterbalancing the smallest one. In this way we can discern a relationship between the early meaning ‘half’ for *paras* and the later meaning $\frac{5}{6}$ for *parasrab*.

2.7. Of course it remains theoretically possible that *paras*, since it did at one time mean ‘half’, was in some cases the Akkadian equivalent of a logogram designating

45. See the apparatus in *MSL* 10:32 (line 19).

46. Powell, “Weight Metrology,” 96.

47. C. Zaccagnini, “*Tummu* and *par(as)-šeḫru*: Note on Two Measures of Weight at Nuzi,” *JAOS* 96 (1976) 273.

48. Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 216; idem, “Weight Metrology,” 96; idem, “Masse und Gewichte,” 510. The reading of MAŠ in this text as $\frac{1}{2}$ rather than *pār* is also the reading of E. R. Lacheman, “SU = Šiqu,” *JAOS* 57 (1937) 182. Note that in the “Berichtigungen und Nachträge” of *AHw* (p. 1582) von Soden follows Zaccagnini’s assessment of the metrological value of the unit in question: “*para(s)šeḫru* Nuzi $\frac{1}{3}$ Sekel.”

49. This was suggested to me by Professor Marvin A. Powell (personal communication, Feb. 10, 1992).

50. Cf. Akkadian *zūzu* ‘half-shekel’ from the verb *zāzu*, and Aramaic *pēlag* ‘half’ from the verb *pēlag*.

51. Powell, “Weight Metrology,” 99. Cf. *AHw*, s.v. (*grosser Teil*).

52. *GAG* §70k; and Ungnad-Matouš, *Grammatik*, 61 (§49).

half a metrological unit. For example, Powell has suggested that *par(r)as* may sometimes underlie the sign MAŠ.⁵³ This hypothesis is unlikely, however, because the standard Akkadian word for ‘half’ is *mišlu* (absolute *mišil*)⁵⁴ and because the other words for ‘half’ that are mentioned in the lexical lists do not include *paras*,⁵⁵ presumably because it was an archaic word that was no longer used in later Akkadian.

2.8. A much better case can be made for another proposal by Powell—namely, to read *paras* as the Akkadian equivalent of KUD (i.e., TAR) in the metrological terminology of the Obelisk of Maništušu (23d century B.C.).⁵⁶ Since this is a very early text, it is probable that the word *paras* was still current in the Akkadian of that time. Furthermore, the logogram KUD/TAR, unlike MAŠ, is regularly associated with forms of the root PRS, including the verbal adjective *parsu*.⁵⁷ Consequently, since KUD/TAR in this context clearly refers to a half,⁵⁸ Powell is probably right in reading $\frac{1}{2}$ KUD.GÍN in this text as *mišil paras šiqlim*.⁵⁹ The phrase designates $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel and might be translated ‘half a moiety of a shekel’. Similarly, KUD.GÍN in the same text is probably to be read *paras šiqlim* and refers to a half-shekel.⁶⁰ (In later Akkadian, perhaps already in Old Babylonian, the former term is replaced by *rebūtu* and the latter by *zūzu*.⁶¹) Since in Old Akkadian the reading TAR is to be preferred over KUD (see above, §1.3), and *paras* is the absolute form of *parsum*, Powell’s suggestion lends independent support to our hypothesis (§1.3) that in Eblaite, too, TAR should be read as **parsum*, especially since the Old Akkadian inscription of the obelisk is so close in time to the Eblaite tablets.

2.9. My conclusion is therefore that *parsum* (*paras*) is an archaic, rare word in Akkadian, attested two or three times with the meaning ‘half’ and surviving in the standard language only in *parasrab*, $\frac{5}{6}$.⁶² Although it appears in a compound expression designating $\frac{1}{6}$ of a shekel, there is no evidence that *parsum* by itself was an Akkadian measure of weight. It was certainly not the Akkadian word for ‘half-mina’, since cuneiform inscriptions on half-mina weights regularly take the form MAŠ MA.NA, that is, *mišil manû* ‘ $\frac{1}{2}$ mina’.⁶²

53. See Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 225. After pointing out that the Sumerian reading $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA is uncertain, Powell writes: “also uncertain in Akkadian, perhaps *parras/mišil manēm*.”

54. See the entries on *mišlu* in *AHw* and *CAD*, with their references to MAŠ and BAR as the standard logograms for this word. Conversely, see the entry under MAŠ in Borger, *Zeichenliste*, 75, under no. 74, where only *mišlu* is given for the sign when it means ‘half’.

55. See the discussion in Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 155–61.

56. See *ibid.*, 217, 218; and *idem*, “Weight Metrology,” 98.

57. See Borger, *Zeichenliste*, no. 12.

58. See F. Hrozný, “Der Obelisk Maništušu’s,” *WZKM* 21 (1907) 16–18.

59. Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 217; *idem*, “Weight Metrology,” 96.

60. Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 218; *idem*, “Weight Metrology,” 98.

61. Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 217, 218; *idem*, “Weight Metrology,” 96–97, 99.

62. For example, the Nimrud lion weight discussed below (§4.5). For other weight stones with this inscription, see Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 256–57; and *idem*, “Weight Metrology,” 107 (fourth column of table 1A). In other contexts as well the metrological value of half a mina or 30 shekels is regularly written $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA in Akkadian texts (Powell, “Weight Metrology,” 103). Compare also the sixth-century bilingual inscription discussed below (§5.4).

2.10. Taking stock of our results so far, we find that both *parīsum* and *parsum* seem to be attested in the two languages we have discussed but that in Akkadian they are peripheral (geographically and chronologically) to the mainstream of the language, while in Eblaite (if TAR = **parsum*) they are part of the mainstream. Furthermore, in Akkadian *parīsu(m)* as a measure of capacity is attested only in western sites (Alalah and Ugarit), while *parsu(m)* as a unit of weight does not appear at all.

3. Ugaritic

3.1. *Capacity.* In the alphabetic texts of the tablets of Ugarit (14th–13th century) we also find the term *prs* used as a metrological unit. Although Bordreuil has argued that this term appears in one text as a unit of weight,⁶³ there can be little doubt that Ugaritic *prs* is in fact always a measure of capacity.⁶⁴ It is used especially in ration-lists as a measure of grain.⁶⁵ The orthography varies between *prs* and *prš*, but the spelling with *š* probably indicates only that the word had the ending *-su* in its nominative form.⁶⁶ It is likely, therefore, that it should be vocalized */parīsul/*,⁶⁷ especially since Akkadian *parīsu* is also attested in Ugarit, and the Akkadian syllabogram *pa* representing this word is used even in a Ugaritic context (§2.3). That the middle vowel is a long *ī* is also consistent with the spelling *prys* of its Old Aramaic counterpart in the Tell Fakhariyeh inscription, which is close to the Ugaritic texts in both time and space (see below, §4.3). Although it has been suggested that the term may represent a half-unit of some sort,⁶⁸ it is not clear what the precise size of the Ugaritic *prs* was.⁶⁹ According to Stieglitz it was about 15 liters.⁷⁰ It is important to avoid confusion with the much larger *PARĪSU* of the Hittite texts (see above, §2.1 [c]).

63. P. Bordreuil, “Cunéiformes alphabétiques non canoniques: 1) La tablette alphabétique senestroverse RS 22.03,” *Syria* 58 (1981) 301–10, especially pp. 306–7. Bordreuil’s argument depends on a number of disputed readings in this text and on Zaccagnini’s probably erroneous conclusion that *para(s)-šeḫru* in Nuzi text HSS 15 228 represents $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel (see above, §2.6.2). Furthermore, he transfers the putative meaning of this compound term in Akkadian to the simple term *prs*₂ or *prz*₂ (= *prš*) in Ugaritic and makes the unlikely assumption that the Ugaritic text is measuring oil in subdivisions of a shekel.

64. See C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965) 410: “2110 *prs* . . . : a measure (for rations) // *lḫ*; e.g., dry measure for wheat or flour.”

65. Cf. J. Sanmartín (“Notas de lexicografía ugarítica,” *UF* 20 [1988] 274 n. 45), who speaks of *prs* as “medida de capacidad para áridos,” and lists a dozen places where it occurs.

66. See S. Segert, “The Last Sign of the Ugaritic Alphabet,” *UF* 15 (1983) 201–18, especially pp. 206, 207. Earlier theories about this Ugaritic letter favored the view that *prs* was a loanword; see, for example, Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 80.

67. Cf. M. Heltzer, “Der ugaritische Text KTU 4.751 und das kollektive Festmahl (?) der Dienstleute des Königs,” *UF* 12 (1980) 414 n. 2; and idem, “Some Questions of Ugaritic Metrology and Its Parallels in Judah, Mesopotamia and Greece,” *UF* 21 (1989) 196.

68. See J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (4th ed.; Berlin: Akademie, 1974), s.v.: “eine Masseinheit, ein Teil ($\frac{1}{2}$);” and Heltzer, “Some Questions of Ugaritic Metrology,” 196 n. 17.

69. It is often said to equal $\frac{1}{2}$ GUR/*kurrulkor*, following the mistaken entry on *parīsu* in *AHW* (see n. 30 above); see, for example, Heltzer, “Der ugaritische Text KTU 4.751,” 414 n. 2; idem, “Some Questions of Ugaritic Metrology,” 196; Vargyas, “Le *muḏu* à Ugarit,” 167 n. 13; Segert, “The Last Letter,” 206 n. 26; and Sanmartín, “Notas de lexicografía,” 274 n. 45.

70. Private communication (March 9, 1992).

4. Old Aramaic

4.1. If we define Old Aramaic as encompassing all Aramaic inscriptions dated before 700, including Samalian, then we can classify three epigraphic examples of metrological PRS-terms under this heading: two designating a unit of capacity and one a unit of weight.

4.2. *Capacity.* The bilingual inscription recently discovered near Tell Fakhariyeh (Fekherye) in northern Syria, which is dated by its editors to the mid-ninth century,⁷¹ contains the word *prys* in line 19 of its Aramaic text, corresponding to 1 BÂN in line 31 of the parallel Akkadian text.⁷² Although it is not certain that *prys* represents an exact equivalent of BÂN (i.e., Akkadian *sūtu*), it is reasonable to assume that the two measures are of the same order of magnitude. In this case, if the *sūtu* is equivalent to 10 ŠILA/*qû*, and a *qû* is about one liter,⁷³ then *prys* in this context equals about 10 liters.⁷⁴ It is clear from the Aramaic text of the inscription that *prys* is here a measure of grain, specifically of barley.⁷⁵

4.3. A notable feature of the Tell Fakhariyeh inscription is its use of *matres lectionis* to indicate internal long vowels.⁷⁶ The spelling *prys* therefore indicates that the capacity measure in Old Aramaic was pronounced with a long *ī*. This suggests that the word as a whole was probably pronounced */parīsl/*, given the analogy with *parīsu(m)* in Eblaite and peripheral Akkadian.⁷⁷

4.4 The Panamu inscription of Sam'al, dated between 733 and 727 B.C., contains the words *wqm prs bšql*, translated by Dion 'et une demi-mesure (?) coûtait un sicl'.⁷⁸

71. A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil, and A. R. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne* (Études Assyriologiques 7; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982) 112. Similarly Stephen A. Kaufman, "Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyeh," *Maarav* 3 (1982) 141. For an alternative dating (eleventh century), see J. Naveh, "The Date of the Tell Fekherye Inscription," *Shnaton* 5–6 (1978–79) 131–40.

72. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye*, 65. See also Kaufman, "Reflections," 159–60.

73. Powell, "Masse und Gewichte," 494, 497–98.

74. The suggestion in Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye*, 35) that *prys* here represents 'a third' (either of a *kor* or a *homer*), is again based on Zaccagnini's mistaken interpretation of *para(s)-šeḫru* in the Nuzi text (see n. 63 above) and fails to distinguish between weight and capacity measures.

75. The generic translation 'fraction' for *prys* is to be avoided, pace D. I. Block, *The Gods of the Nations: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern National Theology* (Jackson, Miss.: Evangelical Theological Society, 1988) 111.

76. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye*, 39–42; Kaufman, "Reflections," 156.

77. Cf. Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye*, 75: "*prys* peut difficilement être distingué du *parisu* des textes cunéiformes." For the pronunciation */parīsl/*, see also F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, "The Orthography of the Aramaic Portion of the Tell Fekherye Bilingual," in *Text and Context: Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F. C. Fensham* (ed. W. Claassen; JSOTSup 48; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 35 (no. 155).

78. Paul Dion, *La langue de Ya'udi: Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest* (Waterloo: La Corporation pour la Publication des Études Académiques en Religion au Canada, 1974) 37.

Although some scholars have taken *prs* here to be the weight unit of one-half mina,⁷⁹ it is more likely that it is a unit of capacity.⁸⁰ In this case the pronunciation /*paris*/ is again indicated. Cross has argued that it was the equivalent of half a biblical ephah—that is, about 11 liters.⁸¹

4.5. *Weight.* The cognate weight designation in Old Aramaic is found on an Assyrian lion weight of about 700 B.C. excavated at Nimrud (ancient Calah) in 1846.⁸² It clearly belongs to Old Aramaic, since the spelling 'rq' for 'land' is found on several of the lion weights belonging to the same series.⁸³ The word is here spelled *prś*, which is no doubt to be read as *prs*. There can be no doubt about its metrological value, not only because the lion weight in question (minus its handle) weighs 240.535 grams, just short of half the standard Mesopotamian mina, but also because it bears the parallel text $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA in cuneiform.⁸⁴

5. Official Aramaic

5.1. *Capacity.* The capacity measure *prs* appears several times in the Aramaic papyri that have come to light in Egypt. The earliest examples (515 B.C.) are found in the papyrus published by Bauer and Meissner.⁸⁵ The two collections of fifth-century Egyptian papyri published by Cowley and Kraeling, respectively, also contain one example each of *prs* as a measure of capacity.⁸⁶ The second of these occurs

79. So M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik nebst ausgewählten Inschriften, I. Teil: Text* (Weimar, 1898; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1962) 408, 442; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903) 176; and *DISO*, s.v.

80. So J. J. Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie* (2 vols.; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1962) 1.72; Dion, *La langue de Ya'udi*, 37; KAI 2.226; and F. M. Cross, "An Inscribed Weight," in *The Excavations at Araq el-Emir* (ed. Nancy L. Lapp; AASOR 47; n.p.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1983) 28.

81. Cross, *ibid.*

82. See A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* (2 vols.; London: Murray, 1849) 1.128; *idem*, *Nineveh and Babylon* (London: Murray, 1887) 601; and *CIS* II,1 no. 10 (on p. 1 of this volume the findspot is still mistakenly identified as Nineveh, not Calah).

83. For example, nos. 1 and 11 in *CIS* II,1.

84. See Powell, *Sumerian Numeration*, 257.

85. See H. Bauer and B. Meissner, "Ein aramäischer Pachtvertrag aus dem 7. Jahre Darius' I.," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 72 (1936) 414–24; esp. 415, 418. See also A. Dupont-Sommer, "Un contrat de métayage égypto-araméen de l'an 7 de Darius I^{er}," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 14 (1951) 61–106. The most recent edition and discussion is found in H. Z. Szubin and B. Porten, "An Aramaic Joint Venture Agreement: A New Interpretation of the Bauer-Meissner Papyrus," *BASOR* 288 (1992) 67–84.

86. See A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923) no. 45.8; and Emil G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953) no. 11.3. The first example was taken by Cowley (pp. 149, 150) to have the general meaning 'portion', 'allowance', or 'ration', but Kraeling rightly argues (pp. 58, 262) that it must be a specific measure of capacity. On the other hand, Kraeling is wrong to suggest (p. 214) that *prsyn* in his no. 7.20 also represents this measure; see P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (Paris: Cerf, 1972) 72 note e.

in a context that allows the inference that a *prs* was equivalent to $\frac{1}{2}$ an ardab—that is, about 14 liters.⁸⁷ Again, the term refers to quantities of grain.⁸⁸

5.2. It is generally assumed that the capacity measure *prs* in these Egyptian texts is to be vocalized *pěras*, presumably on the analogy of the Mishnaic Hebrew weight term *pěras*.⁸⁹ However, in the light of our findings in Old Aramaic, it is likely that Official Aramaic also had distinct terms for the measure of capacity and the measure of weight and that the former was a derivative of */parīs/*, probably pronounced */pěris/* by the fifth century.⁹⁰

5.3 It is significant that in Official Aramaic the term *prs* now also appears in the sense ‘ration’ or ‘salary’.⁹¹ A possible explanation of this semantic development is that a *prs* of barley, understood in the original metrological sense of the term, had been used for some time as a fixed ration by which workers were paid.⁹² If so, this would explain how the specific metrological sense gave rise to the more general meaning. The resulting ambiguity is illustrated in the fifth-century Egyptian papyri, where it is sometimes difficult to determine which of the two senses is intended.⁹³

5.4. *Weight.* Although there are only two examples in Official Aramaic sources of *prs* as a weight designation, both are particularly instructive. One is found on the edge of a cuneiform tablet found in Uruk that is dated to the sixth year of Cyrus—that is, 533 B.C. The Aramaic inscription is *prs* (spelled with a *samek*) and corresponds to $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA in the cuneiform text, just as on the lion weight discussed above (§4.5).⁹⁴ These two epigraphic attestations of *prs* in conjunction with its Akkadian equivalent make it unmistakably clear that Aramaic *prs* still had the same value in the mid-first millennium as Eblaite **parsum* did in the mid-third millennium—namely, $\frac{1}{2}$ mina, or 30 shekels.

87. See Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Papyri*, 262–63. According to B. Porten (*Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* [Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968] 71), an ardab contained about 30 liquid quarts, so that a *prs* would equal about 15 quarts or 14 liters. A slightly smaller value (13 liters) is given for the half-ardab in Grelot, *Documents araméens*, 512.

88. Barley in Cowley 45.8, and spelt in Kraeling 11.3.

89. See, for example, Bauer and Meissner, “Ein aramäischer Pachtvertrag,” 418; Kraeling, *Brooklyn Museum Papyri*, 262; and Szubin and Porten, “Joint Venture Agreement,” 69, 75.

90. See Stephen A. Kaufman (“On Vowel Reduction in Aramaic,” *JAOS* 104 [1984] 87–95), who argues that the reduction of unstressed short vowels in open syllables began around this time. The defective spelling *prs* for */pěris/* is paralleled by the spelling *mḥr* for the month name *mēḥir* (elsewhere spelled *mḥyr*) in the first line of Bauer and Meissner’s Aramaic contract (see Dupont-Sommer, “Un contrat de métayage,” 68).

91. See Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 34, 149–50; and Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 270, 274, 277. I see no reason to postulate another noun (of the *qatāl* pattern) to account for this meaning of *prs* (pace Beyer, *Aramäische Texte*, 671).

92. On grain as a form of payment, see Axel Steensberg, *Hard Grains, Irrigation, Numerals and Script in the Rise of Civilizations* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1989) 7, 14–15, 46.

93. For example, Cowley 45.8, which Cowley and Kraeling interpret in different ways (see n. 86 above).

94. See V. Scheil, “Contrat babylonien à légende araméenne,” *RA* 11 (1914) 183–87; and *RES*, no. 1784.

5.5. The other place where *prs* appears as a weight designation in Official Aramaic is in the book of Daniel, as part of the enigmatic handwriting on the wall in Babylon (Daniel 5:25, 28). It was C. Clermont-Ganneau who first proposed, on the basis of the Assyrian lion weight inscribed *prś* (§4.5), that each of the three words of the famous riddle (*mnʾ*, *tml*, and *prs*) referred in the first instance to a specific weight, and that *prś* (= *prs*) here must mean ‘half-mina’.⁹⁵ This exegetical insight, first advanced in 1886, has since been amply confirmed by further epigraphic finds and is today accepted by virtually all commentators.⁹⁶

5.6. The recognition that the *prs* of Daniel 5 is identical with the epigraphically attested Aramaic weight designation has the further benefit that it allows us to recover the latter’s original vocalization. Not only do we have the Masoretic vocalization *pěřēs* (plural *parsîn*) to go by but we also have the early transcription *phares*, unanimously attested in the Old Greek, “Theodotion,” Josephus, the Vulgate, and Jerome.⁹⁷ On the basis of these givens, it is possible to reconstruct an original pronunciation of */pars/*, which first changed to *p(h)áres* and then to *pěřēs*, according to the regular rules of phonological development in Aramaic.⁹⁸

5.7. Consequently, it seems that we can infer an Aramaic */pars/*, corresponding to Eblaite **parsum*, just as we can infer an Aramaic */parīs/*, corresponding to Eblaite *parīsum*. In both pronunciation and value, the Aramaic weight name stands in direct continuity with its Eblaite forerunner two thousand years before.

6. Phoenician

6.1. *Weight.* There is a single epigraphic example of *prs* as a metrological unit in Phoenician, found on Cyprus and dated to the third quarter of the fourth century. It is clearly a unit of weight and equivalent to one-half mina.⁹⁹

7. Mishnaic Hebrew

7.1. Mishnaic Hebrew, which is attested only in the first millennium A.D., has a *PRS*-term to designate units of weight and length but not capacity. It is possible that the meaning ‘bread-ration’ for *pěřās* preserves a trace of an earlier Hebrew capacity

95. See C. Clermont-Ganneau, “Mané, Thécel, Phares, et le Festin de Balthasar,” *JA* 8/8 (1886) 44–45.

96. See my “Riddle of the Scales in Daniel 5,” *HUCA* 62 (1991) 155–77, especially pp. 160–64.

97. See *ibid.*, 156.

98. On */pars/* as the original pronunciation of the weight name *pěřēs*, see Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 80; and K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 671. On the phonological rules involved in the evolution of its pronunciation, see Beyer’s discussion on pp. 112–13, 125, 145. Especially pertinent to the phonetic evolution of */pars/* is the discussion in Joseph L. Malone, “Wave Theory, Rule Ordering, and Hebrew-Aramaic Segolation,” *JAOS* 91 (1971) 44–66, esp. pp. 45–50.

99. See A. M. Honeyman, “Larnax tēs Lapēthou: A Third Phoenician Inscription,” *Le Muséon* 51 (1938) 285–98, esp. pp. 286, 293; and *idem*, “Observations on a Phoenician Inscription of Ptolemaic Date,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26 (1940) 57–67.

term that lost its metrological meaning, as in Aramaic (see below, §8.4.3).¹⁰⁰ In this case the term in question was probably *p̄rīs* (possibly an Aramaic loanword) and was later confused with the weight term *p̄rās*. The weight designation has long been known from rabbinic sources and has recently been confirmed by epigraphic evidence.

7.2. *Weight.* The weight term in question is vocalized *p̄rās* in the Mishna and is again equivalent to half a mina.¹⁰¹

7.3. A number of lead weights inscribed with the word *prs* has recently come to light in Israel.¹⁰² They are dated to the time of the Second Jewish Revolt (131–35 A.D.). It is clear from their actual weight that they represent half a mina—either the regular Jewish mina of about 800 grams or the double mina of about 1600 grams.¹⁰³

7.4. There is good reason to believe that *p̄rās* in Mishnaic Hebrew is an Aramaic loanword. If the weight name was originally **pars(um)*, as we concluded above (§§1.3 and 5.6), then the expected Hebrew form of this would be the segolate noun *p̄eres*, comparable to *m̄elek* from **malk(um)*, or *k̄aleb* from **kalb(um)*.¹⁰⁴ Instead, the Hebrew form is *p̄rās*, a vowel pattern that appears elsewhere in Hebrew almost exclusively in Aramaic loanwords.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the Aramaic weight designation is well attested in the first millennium B.C., as we have seen (§§4.5, 5.4, 5.5), but there are no examples of Hebrew *p̄rās* before the turn of the era. (There are a number of passages in which the word might have been used in the Hebrew Bible, but the text has ‘thirty shekels’ instead.¹⁰⁶) Given these facts, and the further consideration that Mishnaic Hebrew was used in an Aramaic environment (specifically Jewish Palestinian or “Galilean” Aramaic) that contributed many loanwords, it seems likely that *p̄rās* also belongs to their number.

7.5. The phonological development from */pars/* to *p̄rās* can be traced with some precision, if we assume that all but the last stage took place within Aramaic. As we have seen above (§5.6), the textual history of Daniel 5:25 allows us to track the phonetic evolution of the weight term from */pars/* to *p(h)áres* to *p̄rēs*, following patterns that are well established for Aramaic segolate nouns. However, in most varieties of Aramaic (including Jewish Palestinian Aramaic), there was a further development by which segolate *é* is replaced by *á*, yielding such forms as *ḡebár* ‘man’ and *k̄ēsáp* ‘silver’.¹⁰⁷ In the case of the weight term *prs*, this would result in the form

100. See M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Putnam’s, 1886–93; repr. New York: Judaica, 1989), s.v. *p̄rās* 2.

101. See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v. 3.

102. See Amos Kloner, “Lead Weights of Bar Kochba’s Administration,” *IEJ* 40 (1990) 58–67.

103. *Ibid.*, 67.

104. See GKC §84^a and §93c.

105. GKC §84^an, referring to such nouns as *yēqār*, *k̄ētāb*, and *q̄ērāb*. See also M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch* (BZAW 96; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1966) 122 (cf. nos. 77, 120, 121, 126, 128, 141, 175, 204a, 207, 268, 270, 297, and 303 in Wagner’s list of lexical Aramaisms in the Hebrew Bible).

106. See Exodus 21:32 and Zechariah 11:12–13.

107. See Malone, “Hebrew-Aramaic Segolation,” 45–50, where this last phonological development (designated *h*) is documented for various kinds of Aramaic. It is also illustrated in the Aramaic of the

/pěrás/. When taken over into Hebrew, Aramaic words with this common vowel pattern (not necessarily segolates) generally lengthen the final vowel (as in *zěmān* and *šěṭār*), so that the form *pěrás* as attested in the Mishna is exactly what we would expect if it were a loanword from Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

7.6. According to F. M. Cross, the Hebrew word *prs* also appears on another weight from about the same time (A.D. 70–100) as the lead weights of the Second Jewish Revolt.¹⁰⁸ This is a large stone weight, almost 10 times as heavy (7700 grams) as the lead weight *prs* based on the double mina. Since the stone is too heavy to qualify as a half-mina (and too light to be interpreted as a half-talent), Cross suggests that *prs* here does not refer to the weight of the stone but to the capacity of a sack of barley of equivalent weight (about 11 liters).¹⁰⁹ This is improbable, however, not only because *prs* as a capacity measure is not attested elsewhere in Hebrew, but also because there seems to be no parallel to a weight's being inscribed with a capacity designation. In another context I hope to present evidence for the view that the inscribed word is not *prs* at all.

7.7. *Length*. Finally, unlike any of the other languages that we have surveyed, Mishnaic Hebrew has a *PRS*-term to refer to a measure of length. The word *pěrás* is also used to designate a length of 50 cubits (one-half of a 'furrow' of 100 cubits).¹¹⁰

8. Summary and Conclusions

8.1. Having completed our survey of the evidence for metrological *PRS*-terms, we can summarize our findings in a roughly chronological chart (see p. 238).

8.2. There are a number of patterns that emerge from our findings on these metrological *PRS*-terms. They can be conveniently classified as phonological, metrological, and historical.

8.3. Phonologically, it appears that all of the *PRS*-terms that we have surveyed can be interpreted as derivatives of either *parīsum* or **parsum* in Eblaite.

8.3.1. *Capacity*. There is direct phonological continuity between the *parīsum* of Eblaite, the *parīsu* of western Akkadian and Ugaritic, the */parīs/* of Old Aramaic, and the */pěris/* of Official Aramaic.

8.3.2. *Weight*. There is also clear phonological continuity between the **parsum* of Eblaite and the */pars/* of early Aramaic, which in turn led via the regular

Fragment Targum; see Steven E. Fassberg, *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah* (HSS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 141. Malone's account of Aramaic segolation was challenged on this point by T. Muraoka ("Segolate Nouns in Biblical and Other Aramaic Dialects," *JAOS* 96 [1976] 228), who claimed that the *qětal* form preceded *qětel* rather than following it. However, Muraoka's theory does not account (as Malone's does) for the sequence attested for */pars/* in Daniel 5:25 and 28, in which the *phares* of the ancient versions precedes the *pěrēs* of the MT (see above, §5.6).

108. Cross, "Inscribed Weight," 27–30. Although the inscription could be either Aramaic or Hebrew, Cross appears to read it as Hebrew, since he entertains the possibility that it omits the word *bn* 'son' (p. 27).

109. *Ibid.*, 28–29.

110. See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v. 4.

	<i>Capacity</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Date</i>
Eblaite	<i>parīsum</i>	<i>*parsum</i>	2300
Akkadian	<i>parīsu</i> (Alalah)		2000
Ugaritic	<i>parīsu</i> (Ugarit) <i>/parīsul</i>		1500
Old Aramaic	<i>/parīs/</i> (Fakhariyeh) <i>/parīs/</i> (Samʿal)	<i>prś</i> (Nimrud)	1000
Official Aramaic	<i>/pērīs/</i> (Egypt)	<i>prs</i> (Uruk) <i>/pars/</i> (Daniel 5)	500
Phoenician		<i>prs</i> (Cyprus)	0
Mishnaic Hebrew		<i>prs</i> (Israel) <i>pērās</i> (Mishna)	200

intermediate stages *pāres*, *pērēs*, and */pērās/* to the Aramaic loanword *pērās* in Mishnaic Hebrew.

8.4. Metrologically, it is significant that all of the PRS-terms refer (with the one late exception of Hebrew *pērās* as a measure of length) to either a unit of capacity or a unit of weight and that both usages go back to Ebla. Furthermore, the metrological value of these units has remained remarkably constant over three millennia.

8.4.1. *Capacity*. Although we cannot be sure of the exact metrological values of *parīsum* and its derivatives, the estimates noted above all fall within a narrow range:

Eblaite <i>parīsum</i>	10 liters (§1.2)
Akkadian <i>parīsu</i>	15 liters (§2.2)
Ugaritic <i>parīsu</i>	15 liters (§3.1)
Old Aramaic <i>/parīs/</i> (Fakhariyeh)	10 liters (§4.2)
Old Aramaic <i>/parīs/</i> (Samʿal)	11 liters (§4.4)
Official Aramaic <i>/pērīs/</i>	14 liters (§5.1)

Wherever it appears, from the mid-third to the mid-first millennium, the capacity unit is of the same order of magnitude as the unit attested at Ebla. The range of variation is much smaller than the range documented for such other standard metrological terms as *GUR/kurru* and *MA.NA/manû* and their derivatives.

8.4.2. Another point of continuity is that the capacity unit is always a dry measure, used especially for grain rations (§§1.2, 2.2, 3.1). The association with rations is so strong that Aramaic */pērīs/* eventually acquired the meaning ‘ration’ (§5.3).

8.4.3. The apparent demise of the capacity designation in the latter part of the first millennium B.C. can be explained as the result of the ambiguity occasioned by the new sense ‘ration’ in Official Aramaic. This ambiguity would favor the abandonment of one of the two senses of *prs*, since they could easily be confused in administrative or legal texts. That it was the metrological sense that was abandoned is clear from Syriac, in which the */pērīs/* of earlier Aramaic has become *pērāsā’*, which is no longer a capacity designation but retains the sense ‘ration’.¹¹¹ The same semantic development may be reflected in Mishnaic Hebrew (§7.1).

8.4.4. *Weight*. As for the metrological value of **parsum* and its cognates, there is striking agreement between Eblaite, Old Aramaic, Official Aramaic, Phoenician, and Mishnaic Hebrew, all of which use these terms to designate a half-mina.¹¹² As noted above (§1.4), the mina in the Mesopotamian standard appears to have been around 500 grams, which yields a value for the *pars(um)* of about 250 grams. This is confirmed by the actual mass of surviving Eblaite weight stones (§1.4), and of the Nimrud lion weight (§4.5). On the other hand, the Jewish standard reflected in the lead weights from the second century A.D. is geared to a mina of 800 grams (§7.3).

8.4.5. Another metrological pattern in the *PRS*-terms that we have surveyed, both for capacity and weight, is that they generally designate one-half of another metrological unit. *Parīsum* and its derivatives represent half a *gubar* in Eblaite (§1.2), half an ephah in Old Aramaic (§4.4), and half an ardab in Official Aramaic (§5.1). It is only for the *parīsu* of western Akkadian and Ugaritic that the capacity unit was not a half-measure. As for **parsum* and its derivatives, these consistently represent half a mina (§8.4.4), while the Hebrew measure of length represents half a ‘furrow’ of 100 cubits (§7.7). This general association of *PRS*-terms with half-units clearly goes back to the Ebla of the mid-third millennium and may well be related to our finding that *parsum* in Old Akkadian can mean ‘half’ (§2.9).

8.4.6. It should be pointed out, however, that this general association of *PRS*-terms with half of another metrological unit does not mean that *PRS* can be used for half of *any* such unit, as has often been claimed for Aramaic.¹¹³ Both in Aramaic and its cognate languages, when *PRS* does designate a half-unit, it is a very specific half,

111. See R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1879–1901), s.v. 3 (col. 3279). Note that the Peshitta uses *pērāsā’* to translate Greek *sitometrion* in Luke 12:42.

112. It is clear that there is no support for the view that *pērēs* in Daniel 5:25 and 28 can mean ‘half-shekel’, as argued by O. Eissfeldt in his influential article, “Die Menetekel-Inschrift und ihre Deutung,” *ZAW* 63 (1951) 105–14.

113. So Honeyman, “Larnax tēs Lapēthou,” 293; Eissfeldt, “Menetekel-Inschrift,” 111; Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 72 n. 57; and Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences*, 80.

representing 50% of a particular unit in a particular type of measure (capacity, weight, or length).

8.5. Historically, the evidence that we have surveyed reveals a significant general pattern. The overall picture that emerges is that of an independent Northwest Semitic subtradition of metrological terminology, first attested in Ebla around 2300 B.C., and manifesting itself over the next 2500 years in the Northwest Semitic languages of the western periphery of the Mesopotamian world.

8.5.1. Although the PRS-term for ‘half-mina’ is associated with such central Mesopotamian cities as Calah (§4.5), Uruk (§5.4), and Babylon (§5.5), it is telling that it is attested there only in Aramaic, the language written by western scribes.¹¹⁴ As for the capacity measure, it is significant that *parīsum* and its derivatives are only attested in the lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. Furthermore, although a few examples of these terms are found in Egypt and Cyprus, by far the greatest number are attested in the three cities of Ebla, Alalakh, and Ugarit, all of which are situated in northern Syria. It is not without significance that these three cities all belonged to what Pettinato calls the “kingdom of Ebla.”¹¹⁵

8.5.2. Although most of the standard metrological terms that were current in the languages of the ancient Near East derived from Akkadian (and ultimately from Sumerian), the PRS-terms seem to have been an exception. The direction of influence in this case did not run from Akkadian to its neighboring languages but from the language of northern Syria to its neighbors, including Akkadian. This accounts for the fact that, in Akkadian, metrological *parīsu* is attested only in Alalakh and Ugarit, and that metrological *parsu* is absent altogether. In other words, *parīsu* in Akkadian must be considered a Northwest Semitic loanword. Similarly, the */parisu/* of Ugaritic and early Aramaic is not an Akkadian loanword but, rather, a native Northwest Semitic term that had also penetrated the Akkadian used in northern Syria.¹¹⁶

8.5.3. In the Akkadian of Alalakh and Ugarit we witness the confluence of the North Syrian metrological subtradition of PRS-terms with the dominant Mesopotamian tradition. At Alalakh the native metrological term *parīsu* is replaced after the fifteenth century by the standard Mesopotamian term *qû* (§2.2), and at Ugarit the cuneiform sign PA functions in both traditions: it represents both the native unit *parīsu* and the standard Mesopotamian designation 2 BÂN (§2.3).

114. See H. Tadmor, “The Aramaization of Assyria: Aspects of Western Impact,” in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (ed. H. J. Nissen and J. Renger; 2d rev. ed.; Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 1; Berlin: Reimer, 1987) 449–70; and J. C. Greenfield, “Babylonian-Aramaic Relationship” in the same volume, pp. 471–82.

115. G. Pettinato, *Ebla: A New Look at History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991) 123.

116. See the general discussion of such words in D. Sivan, *Grammatical Analysis and Glossary of the Northwest Semitic Vocables in Akkadian Texts of the 15th–13th C. B.C. from Canaan and Syria* (AOAT 214; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984). Sivan does not mention *parīsu* (cf. p. 259), presumably because he shared the common assumption that the direction of influence in this case was from Akkadian to Northwest Semitic, not vice versa. See also Andersen and Freedman (“Orthography,” 35), who say of *prys* in the Tell Fakhariyeh inscription: “This is apparently a loanword domesticated in Aramaic.”

8.5.4. Finally, for the question of the position of Eblaite among the other Semitic languages, our study of the metrological PRS-terms provides further evidence that Eblaite, at least on the lexical level, has clear affinities with the distinctive vocabulary of Northwest Semitic.¹¹⁷

Postscript

Since I completed this article, the following additional material has come to my attention:

(1) The recently published documents from Emar (13th/12th century B.C.) contain many references to *parīsu* as a measure of grain. See Arnaud's published texts.¹¹⁸ As in the neighboring Alalakh, the word is generally written with the sign PA, representing the acrophonic spelling *pa* (see §§2.1 [b] and 2.2 above). Geographically, these texts belong to the same general area (northern Syria) as Ebla, Alalakh, and Ugarit. They thus provide further confirmation of the overall thesis of this paper.

(2) W. H. van Soldt has published an Old Babylonian letter that refers to "5 *parīsum* of barley" (mistakenly rendered "5 semi-kors of barley"; see §2.2 above).¹¹⁹ In a note on *parīsu* he writes: "The attestation of *parīsum* is quite unexpected in an Old Babylonian text. According to AHw, 833b, *parīsu* II, this word otherwise only occurs in texts from Alalakh and Boghazköy." However, this attestation is not unexpected at all; it is precisely in the Old Babylonian texts of Alalakh (see §2.2 above) that *parīsu(m)* frequently occurs. In the light of our overall conclusions, the significance of *parīsum* in van Soldt's letter 133 is that this text in all likelihood has connections with northern Syria.

117. Cf. G. A. Rendsburg, "Eblaite and Some Northwest Semitic Interconnections," in this volume, pp. 199–208.

118. D. Arnaud, *Emar VI/3: Recherches au pays d'Aštata 1–4* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986), for example, nos. 279, 316, 317, and 319.

119. See W. H. van Soldt, *Letters in the British Museum* (Leiden: Brill, 1990) text 133, obv. 20.

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This is a comprehensive index of all GNs, PNs, and DNs appearing in Michael C. Astour's two-part article on the history of Ebla.

I = “An Outline of the History of Ebla (Part 1),” *Eblaitica* 3 (1992) 3–82.

II = “A Reconstruction of the History of Ebla (Part 2),” *Eblaitica* 4 (2002) 57–195.

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